



THE MUGHAL IMPACT ON THE CULTURE OF RAJASTHAN

(From the middle of the 16th. to the end of the 17th. Century)

Thesis Submitted for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
in
HISTORY

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ABSTRACT

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The Rajput principalities emerged in the north and north-western region (Rajasthan) of India after the collapse of Harsha's empire in the 7th century. The Rajput rulers of these principalities inherited the political and cultural institutions of Harsha's period. The same institutions, traditions and values continued, by and large, throughout the period from the 7th century to the middle of the 16th century with practically no influence of Delhi Sultanate.

However, the foundation of Mughal rule in the 16th century, brought certain new changes in the old set up of Rajasthan. It was emperor Akbar who evolved a new policy towards the Rajputs where by the Rajput rulers had to acknowledge his overlordship and to serve the Imperial court in different capacities and in different regions of the Mughal empire. In return, they were granted internal autonomy within their principalities, (Ratan-Dehra).

As a result of this policy a large number of ruling chiefs were absorbed in the Imperial service. One of the major consequence of this development was the end of the comparative cultural isolation of the people of Rajasthan, because with the subjugation of Rajput princes a new process of cultural synthesis started in our period of study.

In the present thesis an attempt has been made to study the Mughal impact on the society and culture of Rajasthan in the 16th and 17th centuries. As the scope of culture is very wide, the study is limited particularly with the aspects of the life of the ruling chiefs, society, administration, architecture and the paintings.

This study is based on contemporary Persian, European and Rajasthani sources. The information available in the contemporary and near contemporary Rajasthani — literary, archival and inscriptional sources, is extremely valuable. Their valuable information about the social and cultural aspects of the society can be relied upon, though for political aspects they need a cautious approach.

The first chapter is introductory, dealing with the topography, formation of Rajasthan and origin and growth of the Rajput states. The use of the term Rajasthan as a compact land of princes with territorial divisions has been examined.

In the second chapter an attempt has been made to study the nature of the Rajput states prior to their subjugation by the Mughals, the Mughal policy vis-a-vis the Rajputs and the process of their subjugation by the Mughals. One of the most significant feature, of the Rajput policy of the Mughals, was the establishment of matrimonial alliances with the ruling houses of Rajasthan. Though the Mughal Rajput matrimonial

alliances remained one sided, where the brides always belonged to Rajput houses, this relationship did not only bring them closer to each other, it also helped the Mughal rulers to secure the sympathy and support of local element.

On the other hand the establishment of matrimonial alliances and enrollment in the Imperial service brought Rajputs in close contacts of the Mughal court and they were greatly influenced by the Mughals in almost all spheres of life.

Chapter third deals with the position and powers enjoyed by the Rajput rulers before their submission to the Mughals. After the recognition of Mughal sovereignty by them some changes were brought in their status and power through the imposition of certain limitations upon them by their overlords (Mughals). The Rajput rulers deliberately imitated the Mughal court customs and practices in their own courts to enhance their position and to distinguish themselves from their fief holders who were their family members and clansmen. Further, to curtail the powers of the fief-holders, certain new features were introduced in the organisation of their own nobility to regulate their darbars. They divided the nobility into tazimi and Khair-tazimi divisions with their specific privileges. The introduction of the custom of nazar, naqshahar, pashkash and of escheat were the results of the Mughal court's impact. Similarly the other Mughal practices were borrowed by

the Rajput chiefs in the field of court ceremonies, court entertainments, royal seraglio and in the establishment of the household department.

In the fourth chapter a detailed study, of various social and religious customs, dresses, ornaments, food habits, use of intoxicants and education of Rajput society as influenced by the Mughals has been made.

The Mughal culture greatly influenced the Rajput society with regard to social customs, manners and practices. One of the significant effect in the social life was the termination of jauhar custom, the practice of forced and unwilling burning of the widows (sati). The Mughal impact was deep and profound on the food habits of the Rajput ruling class and dress and ornaments of both male and female. The change in the dress of Rajput chiefs and nobles was partly because of their presence in the Mughal court and partly because of constant and continuous presentation of robes of honour to them by the Mughal emperors. Similarly the inclusion of Persian language in the educational curriculum of the Rajput princes was to equip them for the Imperial court and service, where it was official language.

The fifth chapter deals with the Rajput administrative institutions of the pre-Mughal period and the subsequent changes due to the Mughal influence has been fully discussed. All the administrative institutions of the Rajputs in the

pre-Mughal period were completely indigenous in nature and character, based on age old legacy. With the Mughal contacts, the Rajputa chiefs imitated the Mughal pattern of administrative institutions and administrative terminology in almost all spheres of administration. The creation of diwan, bakshi, Khan-i-Jaman, Muzogha-i-tonkhana, yakil, etc. in the central administration, while hukim, amil, notdar, chikdar, Amin, darungo etc. in the pargana level were the outcome of the implementation of Mughal pattern of administration. Similarly the Mughal terminology was applied for the sources of revenue and the records. The different kinds of state documents like parwana, yaddast, hazdash, dustak, siha, amal-dastur, ~~xxxx~~ roznama etc. came into existence according to Mughal terminology.

The inclusion of tonkhana ~~xx~~ in the army organisation and the classification of troopers as tonchi, barkandaz or bandookchi, tirandaz etc. were the significant effects based on Mughal pattern. The appointments of khufia-navis, javia-navis & barkaras, in the intelligence system, to furnish the necessary information about the working of administration, law and order and the general condition of the peasantry, were mainly done on the pattern of Mughal intelligence service though lacking in functions and duties with comparison to the Mughal system.

In the sixth chapter the Mughal influence on the Rajput architecture has been studied. The development of memorial architecture (ahhatri) was due to the result of Mughal influence during this period. The construction of memorial architecture during this period, appears to be the result of the influence of the Mughal tomb architecture.

The Rajputs also introduced the arcuate method of construction in different structural parts of the buildings, constructed during this period. The arches, domes, brackets and kiosks of various forms of Mughal buildings were freely borrowed and used in these buildings. The combination of trabeate, corbelled and arcuate styles of construction were so perfect in these buildings of 16th and 17th centuries, that they produced some of the best architectural pieces of Rajasthan. The Mughal decorative patterns of arabesques, mosaic, floral motifs (Persian designed) and tillor were used without any religious bias. The sculpture lost its dominance due to the introduction of new types of decorative motifs.

The last chapter deals with the study of Rajput painting. The crude composition of Rajput painting comprising of linear perspective, use of dark colours in the background, symbolic representation of night scenes, sky, clouds; the decorative depiction of trees, plants and flowers; the unproportionate and stylized depiction of human beings and animals with angular body projections and the uniform light effect as well as two

dimensional effects were totally replaced under the Mughal influence.

The emergence of aerial perspective, three dimensional effect, use of light and shade, well defined border, naturalistic depiction of sky, trees and landscape with individualistic and naturalistic figures of the living beings, were the contributions of Mughal influence in technique and style.

The inclusion of court scenes, hunting scenes, portraits and illustration of literary works along with the traditional subject of mythological nature and musical modes (Rasamalas) were the result of Mughal court influence.

Lastly the depiction of Mughal material culture in different painting in the form of ~~mk~~ carpets, dress, ornaments, weapons, utensils etc. suggest the Mughal impact on the practical life of the subjects.

Thus an humble attempt is made to study the process of cultural synthesis in Rajasthan under the Mughals.



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P R E F A C E

The present work seeks to examine the Mughal impact on the culture of Rajasthan during the 16th and 17th centuries.

As a result of Akbar's policy a new phase began in the history of Rajasthan, when a large number of ruling chiefs of Rajasthan were absorbed in the Imperial service. In course of time, the Mughal impact began to be felt in various spheres of the life of the people. Yet Rajasthan, retained its distinct cultural individuality. Although² significantly, there was a process of synthesis on a considerable scale with far reaching consequences.

This study is mainly confined to the life of Rajput royalty, court life, social life and the architecture and painting of the period under review.

I have consulted primarily the contemporary Rajasthani sources both literary and archival. The major Persian historical sources have also been utilised. For the study of architecture, I have depended on personal observations of the principal buildings of the Rajput capital cities of Rajasthan. For the paintings I have used different collections at different places including the voluminous Khazanchi collection, Bikaner; Lal Bagh palace Museum, Bikaner; Jaipur Museum, Jaipur etc.

I express my sincere and grateful thanks to my revered teacher² and supervisor Professor Khaliq Ahmad Nizami for his able guidance. He has been a constant source of encouragement and without his help the present work would not have been completed.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Ain	: Ain-i-Akbari
Annals & Antiquities	: Annals & Antiquities of Rajasthan
Bankidas	: Bankidas Ri Khyat
Epi. Ind.	: Epigraphica Indica
Imp. Gaz.	: Imperial Gazetteer
I.A.	: Indian Antiquary
I.H.Q.	: Indian Historical Quarterly
J.A.S.B.	: Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal
J.B.O.R.S.	: Journal of Bihar Orissa Research Society
J.I.H.	: Journal of Indian History
J.U.P.H.S.	: Journal of United Provinces Historical Society.
M.U.	: Maasir-ul-Umara
Muntakhab	: Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh
Nensi	: Muhta Nensi Ri Khyat
Pr. I.H.C.	: Proceedings Indian History Congress
Pr. R.H.C.	: Proceedings Rajasthan History Congress
R.S.A.	: Rajasthan State Archives
Tabqat	: Tabqat-i-Akbari
Tuzuk	: Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

TOPOGRAPHY OF RAJASTHAN:

Rajasthan is situated in north-western part of India between $23^{\circ} 3' N$ and $30^{\circ} 12' N$ latitudes and $69^{\circ} 30' E$ and $70^{\circ} 17' E$ longitudes, covers an area of about 342274¹ sq.miles. The western and northern boundaries are facing Pakistan; in the north and north-east it is bounded by Punjab and Uttar Pradesh; in the east and south-east by Madhya Pradesh and in south west by Gujrat. The most striking feature about the topography of Rajasthan is the Aravalli range which runs north-east and south-west for about 430 miles, forms the backbone of state and divides it into two regions, with clearly distinguishable features. The course of Indus from north-east to south-west is in striking parallelism to the Aravallis. On its north-west lies the great desert of Thar which from time immemorial has proved to be a more effective² barrier to the advance of armies than the Indus itself.

There are two natural divisions of Rajasthan, north-west and south-east of Aravallis.³ The region lying to the

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1. Geography of Rajasthan, V.C.Misra, P.1; Rajasthan, Dharm Pal, p.1; Annals & Antiquities of Rajasthan, Col. James Tod, V.I, p.1.
 2. Imperial Gazetteer of India, V.I, pp. 33,34.
 3. Rajasthan - Dharm Pal, p.2.

west and north-west of the Aravallis is sandy, sterile and lacking in water.¹ The eastern part of this region is known as Marwar, comprising of Jodhpur and Nagaur states; the western part is Thar desert comprising of Bikaner and Jaisalmer states.

The second natural division of Rajasthan, south east² of Aravallis contains the higher and more fertile regions. This region is of diversified character, having extensive hill ranges, long stretches of rocky wood and woodland, watered by a number of rivers such as Chambal,³ Banas, Banganga & Mahi etc. The principal states of this region are Amber (Jaipur), Mewar (Chittore), Bundi, Kota, Banswara, Doongarpur, Sirohi, Kishangarh, Pratapgarh, Shahpura and Rumpura long with Ajmer district (of British India).

FORMATION OF RAJASTHAN:

Rajasthan is the collective and classical name of western India, which for centuries remained the territory of Rajputs. As remarked by Col. Tod, "Rajasthan is the collective and classical denomination of that portion of India which

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1. Rajasthan - Dharm Pal, p.2.
 2. Ibid., p.5.
 3. Ibid., pp. 6,7; Rajasthan through the Ages - Ed. D.Sharma, V.I, pp. 4,5; Imp. Gazetteer, V.I, p.34.

is the abode of Rajput princes. In the familiar dialect of these countries it is termed Rajwara, but by the more refined Raethana, corrupted to Rajputana, the common designation¹ amongst the British to denote the Rajput principalities. "According to the report of Lt. Dyson to Sir John Malcolm, "Rajwara is a name applied to all those countries inhabited by Rajputs but is not intended to convey the idea of a country² subject to one authority on a number of confederated states."

It is wrongly though popularly assumed that the word Rajasthan was coined for the first time by Tod, who wrote the history of this region with the title of "Annals and Antiqui-³ties of Rajasthan". Mahamahopadhyay G.H.Ojha also hold the view that the word Rajasthan became current after Tod's work. Later researches in the subject prove that the word Rajasthan was coined earlier than the Tod's work. However Tod was responsible to popularise this word in the sense of geographical region.

The word Rajasthan is a Sanskritized form of the dingal⁴ word 'Ravathana', which means the abode of princes (Rajas).

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1. Annals & Antiquities, V.I, p.1.
 2. I.H.Q. 1946, V.22 No.2, p.125 Cf. Doongarpur, A.C. Banerjee.
 3. Rajputana ka Itihas (Hindi), G.H. Ojha, V.I, pp. 1-5.
 4. Abhayavilasa, MS. f.4a.

Muhta Nensi has used the word 'Rajathan' as a substitute of Ravathana with a slight different connotation, which means¹ the capital city of the principality. It seems probable that the region being dominated by the Rajput states with their capitals (Rajathan) might be the source for the outcome of the word Rajasthan for this region. However, this whole region neither formed a single political unit nor a geographical unit known by any common name upto the end of the 17th century.

The first mention of the term Rajasthan as a compact land of princes with territorial divisions, plains and mountains occurs in the inscription of V.S. 1765/1708 A.D. Further² it is used in the sense of a region or country in one of the letters of Maharaja Vijaya Singh of Jodhpur to 'Tukoji Holkar'³ during the middle of the 18th century. However, the word did not get currency and find usage before the beginning of the 19th century.

1. Muhta Nensi Ri Khvat, V.I, pp. 48,87,132,248,251,253, 301; V.2, p. 278.

2. Sardar Museum MS. Jodhpur, VV. 64-71.

“ देश अमरक्षेत्र सागर सपावच क्षेत्र तन्महेश
मेरु शीखर सरज विजय राजस्थान सन्तपनिवास : ”

3. Arzi Bahis - Jodhpur, Rajasthan State Archives Bikaner; Rajasthan through the Ages, D.Sharma, V.I, p.1; Proceedings Indian History Congress, 1961, Vol.24, p.196, cf. Origin of word Rajasthan - Suresh Chandra.

The present state of Rajasthan is the product of successive mergers of the Government of Independent India commencing since 17th March 1948 upto 1956 with the promulgation of the State Re-organisation Act.¹ Thus the result was the merger of princely states of Alwar, Dholpur, Bharatpur, Karauli and the chieftship of Neemrana in the first phase. Followed by the second phase the newly formed union was enlarged by the merger of the princely states, namely Kota, Bundi, Jhalawar, Banswara, Doongarpur, Kishangarh, Pratapgarh, Shahapura and Tonk. During the third phase the princely states of Udaipur, Bikaner, Jaipur, Jaisalmer and Jodhpur joined this union. Lastly in the year 1956 a part of Sirohi state along with Abu Road Taluka were merged. Thus the Integration And the States Reorganisation Act of 1956 finally brought into existence the present state of Rajasthan.

ORIGIN OF THE RAJPUTS:

The term Rajput became familiar for the ruling class of early medieval period after the death of Harshvardhan. The word Rajput is a corrupt form of the Sanskrit word Rajputra meaning by a scion of royal blood. Later on in Post-Harsha period, the connotation of the word Rajput changed from class to caste. It is believed that when the caste system was further

1. Geography of Rajasthan, V.C. Misra, p.2.

developed, the Kahatriya caste was divided into 36 royal¹ races in three sub-divisions on the basis of their different pedigrees i.e.

- (a) Surva Vanshi or Survakul (Solar Line), 16
- (b) Chandra Vamshi or Chandrakul (Lunar Line), 16
- (c) Agni Vamshi (Fire born), 4.

The above classification is maintained with slight modifications by all the Rajputs, and the pedigrees are preserved by them through traditions in different ruling houses.

The opinions regarding the origin of Rajputs are almost as numerous as the authors who have dealt with the subject. The bards (Bhats, Charans) of Rajasthan who were the compilers of Rajasthan chronicles regarded them as fire born (Agni Vamshi) or of Lunar race (Chandra Vamshi) or of Solar race (Surva Vamshi) on the basis of the traditions. Further there are many writers Indian as well as Europeans who regard them as the descendants of one or the other foreign tribe.

The various theories about the origin of Rajputs for the sake of convenience may be placed in four categories viz.

1. Annals & Antiquities, V.I, p.97; Vir Vinod, V.I, p.186; Kenhaddepravandh, Padmnabh, p.39.

- (a) Myth of origin from Sun & Moon.
- (b) Myth of Origin from fire (Agni).
- (c) Theory of Priestly descent.
- (d) Theory of foreign descent.

(a) MYTH OF SOLAR & LUNAR DESCENT:

According to Puranic legends and Hindu mythology, Ramchandra & Krishna both the incarnations of God belonged to Solar race (Survakul) and Lunar race (Chandrakul) respectively. The early Kshatriyas claimed their descent from these two incarnations. When the new warrior class emerged, with the name of Rajputs in the seventh century, to political power, it also traced its pedigrees from Rama and Krishna¹ and thus claimed their solar or Lunar origin.²

3

In some of the literary sources efforts are being made to establish direct lineage from Sun and Moon viz. Prithviraja-

1. According to Tod, Guhilots, Tomars, Rathors and Kachwahs trace their descent from Ram Chandra, Annals & Antiquities, V.I, pp.99,104,105,106; Rathora Rī Vamshavali MS. (Rajasthanī), p.5.
 " श्री रामचन्द्र जों रौ राजा कुश तौरा रा रावौ ५ "
2. Tod mentions that Yadavs, Bhattis, & Jadecha clans of the Rajputs trace their descent from Krishna, Annals & Antiquities, V.I, p.102.
3. University of Rajasthan Studies in History 1965-66, Origin of Chahamanas, J.N.Asopa, p.1; Early Chauhan Dynasties, D. Sharma, p.5; Lectures on Rajput History, D.Sharma, pp. 5,6.

Vilaya of the poet Jayanka of the last quarter of 12th century; Hammira-Mahakavya of Nayanchand Suri of the first quarter of 15th century and Suriana-charita of Chandra Sekhara of 16th century. Hammira-Mahakavya & Prithviraja-Vilaya both mention that the progenitor of the Chahamanas emanated from the orb of the Sun, when Brahma mediated upon the thousand rayed one. The Suriana-Charita informs that Brahma while performing a sacrifice at Pushkara (near Ajmer) created Chahamanas from the disc of the sun. The theory of Lunar descent is reproduced¹ in Lunsigadiya's Inscription of 1820 A.D. probably borrowed² from Hansi stone Inscription of Prithviraja II. It simply says that sage vatsa brought about the creation of race with the help of moon.

³

From the study of Inscriptions of the period (9th-15th c.) it is evident that the different clans of Rajputs including Agnikulas have been mentioned either as Survavamshis (Solar race) or Chandravamshis (Lunar race). Even Abul Fazl

1. University of Rajasthan Studies in History 1965-66, Origin of Chahamanas, J.N. Dasgupta, p.3.

2. Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV, p. 444.

3. Nath Inscription of V.S. 1028; Aitpur Inscriptions of V.S. 1035; Abu Inscription of V.S. 1342; Sringershi Inscription of V.S. 1485; Bedia Inscription, Gwalior Stone Inscription of V.S. 843; Harsha Stone Inscription of V.S. 1030.

in 16th c. mentions about two branches of Kshatriyas i.e. Suraibanshi (Solar Dyn.) & Sombanshi (Lunar Dyn.) and their¹ descendants who have adopted sword are designated as Rajputs. It was from the 16th century onward, that different theories regarding the origin of the Rajputs were put forward by the authors, which have ultimately confused the whole issue. However according to the celebrated khvat of Muhta Nensi of 17th century, the Rajputs are classified into three categories on the basis of their origins i.e.

- (a) of Solar or lunar origin²
 - (b) of Fire origin³
 - (c) of Brahmanic origin.⁴
- (b) MYTH OF FIRE ORIGIN (Agnikul):⁵

The first exponent of this theory was Chand Bardai, the Charan who wrote Prithviraj-raso and mentioned that Pariharas (Pratiharas), Parmaras, Chalukyas (Solankis) and

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1. Ain-i Akbari, V.3, p.130.
 2. Nensi, V.I; pp. 128,291,293,295; V.2, p.3.
 3. Nensi, V.I, pp. 134,185.
 4. Nensi, V.I, p.2.
 5. Early Chauhan Dynasties, D.Sharma, pp. 3,4, University of Rajasthan Studies in History, 1965-66, Origin of Chahamanas J.N.Asopa, p.8; Ibid., Origin of Rajputs, G.N.Sharma,p.46.

Chauhans were created by sage Vashishtha from the fire of the sacrifice pit at Mount Abu to destroy the Rakshasas, who being of warrior nature termed as Agnikulas or fire-born Kshatriyas. This theory is repeated in Bedla Inscription, Hammir-Raso of Jodhraj, Vansbhaskara of Suryamal and in Muhta Nensi-Ri-Khyat with slight variations. Tod accepted the theory but with new interpretation and says, "that these races, the sons of Agni were but regenerated and converted by the Brahmans to fight their battles....." Thus the myth which was propounded by Chand Bardai became current and found place in the literary as well as epigraphic sources including geneological works. Kaviraja Shyamaldas gave a new interpretation to this theory. According to him at the time of Buddhism's rise some Kshatriyas, who hated Buddhism, left the plains and took shelter in the Aravallis, where they lived with Bhils (aboriginal tribes of hills) and developed certain

1. Dynastic History of Northern India, H.C.Ray, V.2, p.1052
University of Rajasthan Studies in History, 1965-66.
Origin of Chahamanas, J.N.Asopa, p.8. Nensi, V.I, pp.134,185.

2. Annals & Antiquities, V.I, pp. 107, 108.

3. Rathora Ri Vamshavali MS. (Rajasthani) p.2.

" वासिष्ठ जी जग क्रियौ तेरे अमलकुण्ड मा शता काटीया
-चार जाति अयोनी संभवैके, परमार १, पांडेय १,
सदौड १, चौहान १ "

4. Vir Vinod, V.I, pp. 58, 59.

impurities. At the decay of Buddhism the Brahmins performed a yajna (sacrifice fire) at Mount Abu, purified them and named them the agnikulas. This view seems to be more reasonable ¹ at all there is any role of fire.

(c) THEORY OF PRIESTLY DESCENT:

Some of the scholars believe priestly descent of four clans of Rajputs. On the evidence of Bijolia Inscription of king Somesvardeva, dated 1120 A.D., Dr. Bhandarkar believed that the Chauhans belonged to some priestly class of foreign tribes, where the earliest Chauhan prince Samanta has been called a Brahman of vatsa gotra. The Kshatriya Pratihara² of Mandor had a Brahmana as their ancestor and recognised their³ relationship with the Brahmana Pratihara. Same way Paramaras trace their descent from the fire-pit of Vashishtha at Abu and regard their gotra as Vashishtha. Jan, in Kyam Khan Raso⁴ describes Chauhans as the descendants of Brahman (Vats) of Jamdagnya gotra. The brahman. origin of Chauhans is further

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1. J.A.S.B., 1886, Vol.LV, p.1, pp. 41,43; Early Chauhan Dynasty, D.Sharma, p.9; Rajasthan University Studies in History, 1965-66, Origin of Chahamanas, J.N.Nasopa, p.9.
 2. Early Chauhan Dynasties, D. Sharma, p. 242.
 3. Ibid., p. 242.
 4. Kyam Khan Raso, Kavi Jan, p.4.

supported by Achalesvar Inscription¹ of Abu and Sunda Inscription of Jalor. Similarly Guhilots of Mewar are, also described² as Brahmans in some of the inscriptions of the period. The earliest inscription of the period is Samoli Inscription of 646 A.D. followed by Aitpur Inscription of 977 A.D., Chatsu Inscription (10th c.) Rasiakichhatri Inscription of V.S. 1331, Raimal Inscription of V.S. 1545, Kumbhalgarh Inscription of V.S. 1517 & Raisamudra Prasashi of 17th century, all claim the Brahman^{ic} origin of Rawal Bappa, the founder of Guhilot dynasty. The same origin is maintained by Muhta Nensi, the chronicler of ^{the} 17th century.³

(d) THEORY OF FOREIGN DESCENT:

A few scholars believe that the Rajputs were the descendants of the foreign settlers in India. Tod held Rajputs, to be the descendants of Scythians⁴ or Sakas and in support of his theory compares the affinity of customs and practices of

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1. Rajasthan University Studies in History, 1965-66, Origin of Rajputs, G.N.Sharma, p.52.
 2. Ibid., pp. 52,53; Early Chauhan Dynasties, D.Sharma, p.242; Dyn. History of Northern India, H.C.Ray, V.2, p.1156.
 3. Nensi, V.I, p.2.
 4. Annals & Antiquities, V.I, p.73.
 5. Ibid., pp. 73-97.

Rajputs with Scythians. He further clarifies his opinion by interpreting the myth of Agnikula¹. V.A.Smith believes that the ruling families of Sakas & Kushanas were absorbed in the Hindu caste system and their descendants came to be known as Rajputs². According to R.K.Mookerji, Pratiharas were a section of the larger tribe called Gurjars, who immigrated into India after the Hunas³. Dr. D.R.Bhandarkar maintains that most probably the Chauhans were Khazars and originally belonged to priestly section of some foreign tribes⁴. The theory of foreign descent has been further strengthened by him when he puts Agnikulas as Gurjars⁵. In support of his views he says that since Gurjars & Hunas have been mentioned in Puranas as foreigners therefore the so called Agnikulas were foreigners, who were assimilated in the Rajput fold of Hindu society by the innovation of Agnikula myth.

CONCLUSION:

It is very difficult to arrive at any definite conclusion about the origin of Rajputs due to the nature of contradictory evidences in the contemporary literature and Inscriptions.

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1. Ibid., pp. 107, 108.
 2. Early History of India, V.A.Smith, p.412.
 3. Ancient India, R.K. Mookerji, p.370.
 4. I.A., Vol. XLI, pp.25-29; Early Chauhan Dynasties, D.Sharma, p.7.
 5. I.A., Vol.XL.

However, we can discard the theory of direct lineage from sun or Moon, where Rajputs emanated from the orb of the sun or from the disc of the sun or with the help of moon. It is not only unscientific but also beyond the reach of reason. Similarly we can outrightly reject the theory of fire-origin, firstly the historical investigation has shown that the myth of Agnikula does not go back very far and secondly we find a large number of Inscriptions prior to the propagation of this myth which claim Rajputs either of Solar or of Lunar race, including these clans which later on claimed to be of Agnikula.

One has to agree with the views of Dr. D.Sharma who¹ says that if we can believe that the present day Brahmins are descendants of Vashishta, Atri, Gautam, Bhardwaj or Kaushik etc., why to make any doubt about Kshatriya origin of Rajputs. Because the Kshatriyas of old, the Survayamshis or Chandravamshi could not have eclipsed leaving behind not even a trace of themselves. We can assume the Rajputs as the offsprings of² Kshatriyas. It seems probable that many Kshatriyas may have become brahmins during this period owing to the increasing exclusiveness and vigilance of that class, it also seems certain that many Brahmins became the founders of Rajput families, a tendency which was not new.

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1. Lectures on Rajputs History, D. Sharma, p.5.
 2. Early Chauhan Dynasties, D.Sharma, p. 242.

The assimilation of foreign tribes into the Kshatriya fold does not seem impossible though this process of assimilation must have taken more time. Consciously or unconsciously every fighter class after joining Hindu fold might have claimed Kshatriya status, and it is probable that this status must have been granted to them due to their political supremacy. Therefore it seems that the existence of foreign element in the Rajput class must have some grain of truth.

ORIGIN & EXISTENCE OF RAJPUT STATES (From 7th to 15th c.):

India as pointed out by many eminent historians, has almost throughout the course of history been subject to two types of the forces viz. the centripetal and the centrifugal, one making for unity and centralization while the other encouraging all the tendencies for disunity and decentralization. The last champion of the political unity was Harsha. Harsha had effectively consolidated his power and was successful in creating a centralized empire in the first half of the 7th century. Harsha's death in 647 A.D. marks the end of the period of political unity. After his death the centrifugal tendencies developed and broke the empire into small principalities and fragments. It was in this period that the new Rajput states emerged and dominated the political scene in Northern and Western India.

In the beginning (towards the close of the 7th c. & the beginning of the 8th century), the Rajputs occupied only the south, the south-western, the north-western and north-eastern corners of Rajasthan. From these areas they spread towards different directions until they were able to occupy the whole of Rajasthan by the end of the 14th century. At the very beginning the most important principalities¹ were those of Pratiharas of Maru and Gurjardesa; the Guhilas of Mewar (Medpata), the Mauryas of Chittor & Kota; the Chapas; the Chauhans of Sakambhari, and the Nagas. Out of these principalities the Pratiharas emerged as Imperial power. During the period of their supremacy² for about 200 years (800-1000 AD), Rajasthan was divided into a large number of principalities whose chiefs were subordinates of Pratiharas and assisted them in their empire building as well as fighting against the foreigners (Arabs).³ These were the Guhilas of Chatsu, the Pratiharas of Mandor, the Chahamanas of Sahambhari & Nadol, the Tomaras of Delhi, the Parmaras of Chandravati, Jalor & Kiradu,

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1. Rajasthan through the Ages, D. Sharma, V.I, p.103.
 2. Dynastic History of Northern India, H.C.Ray, V.I,p.569; Rajasthan through the Ages, D.Sharma, V.I, p.108; The Age of Imperial Kannauj, Ed. R.C.Majumdar, p.39; Ancient India, A.K.Mookerjee, p.413.
 3. Dynastic History of Northern India, H.C.Ray, V.I, p.560. V.2, pp. 821,829,924,842,925,1148,1161; Rajasthan through the ages, D. Sharma, V.I, pp. 146,211,215, 221, 224,229-233.

the Bhatīs of Vallamda (Jaisalmer area), the Rastrakūṭas of Hastikundī & Kachhapghatas of Gwalior & Warwar.

The end of Pratihara empire at the close of 10th century brought the period of struggle for power and supremacy among the different ruling clans of the Rajputs. During this period (1000-1200 A.D.) the main contenders¹ for supremacy and power were the Chalukyas of Anhilpattana, the Parmaras of Malwa and the Chauhans of Sakambhari. Besides the above contenders some other clans were holding their principalities independently and continued to rule them, though at different times they sided with one or the other in the struggle of supremacy. The different clans of the Rajputs who held political power and authority in their respective areas² during this period of struggle were the Guhilas of Kewar (Medpata), Doongarpur (Vagada), & Sirohi; the Chahamanas of Warwar, Ranthambor, Jalor & Sanchor; the Kachhapghatas or Kachhwahas of Dhundar (Amber); the Parmaras of Abu, Bagad & Mundalika; the Bhatīs of Vallamda; the Badgujars of Alwar area, the Dahiyas of Maroth & Parbatsar; the Rastrakūṭas of Dhanop & Hastikundī and Mohilas of South-Western part of the present Bikaner division.

The foundation of Delhi Sultanate towards the close of 12th century in northern India brought major changes in the

1. Ibid., p. 263.

2. Ibid., p. 287.

political conditions of Rajasthan. The Chauhan kingdom of Sapadlaksha & Nadol disappeared though its branches continued¹ to rule at Jalor, Sanchor & Bundi. The Guhila kingdom of Mewar² (Chittor) along with its branch of Doongarpur and Banswara survived, though repeatedly attacked by the rulers of Malwa, Gujrat, Maru and Delhi Sultanate.³ Similarly the Parmaras of Abu continued to rule until they were ousted by Deveda Chauhans towards the middle of 14th century. The bhatias of Jaisalmer possessed the tract throughout but for a brief period of Delhi Sultanate's occupation towards the middle of 14th century⁴ which they again captured and continued to rule upto 16th century. A new Rajput ruling clan emerged during this period i.e. the Rathods or Rathors of Marwar. The first ruler⁵ of this branch was Siha, who conquered the region of Marwar at the end of 12th. century and his descendants grew more powerful and continued to hold the region. The early history of the clan is quite obscure. Even obscure than the history of Rathors

1. Ibid., pp. 615, 647.

2. Ibid., p. 649; History of Udaipur, G.H.Ojha, V.I, pp.158, 159; 218; Rajasthan through the Ages, D.Sharma, V.I, p. 673; History of Doongarpur, G.H.Ojha, p.61.

3. Rajasthan through the Ages, D. Sharma, V.I, p.679; Vir Vinod, V.3, pp. 1096, 1211.

4. Rajasthan through the Ages, D.Sharma, V.I, p.687.

5. History of Jodhpur, G.H.Ojha, V.I, pp.122,123; Rajasthan through the Ages, D.Sharma, V.I, p.688.

is the history of Kachhapaghatas or Kachhwahas of Dhundhar¹ (Amber). According to G.H.Ojha it was Sodhadeva, one of the descendants of Kachhapaghatas of Narwar who conquered Dhundhar region (Amber) at the end of 12th century and whose successors occupied the area till the 16th century.

During the period of Delhi Sultanate (1192-1526 A.D.)² the armies of the Sultans penetrated into Rajasthan and conquered Ajmer, Ranthambor, Bayana and Nagor and held them under the direct control of Sultanate while Mewar, Jalor, Jailsalmer and Bhatner were subjugated and occupied for brief periods at different intervals. But the political condition of Rajasthan changed during the first half of 16th century considerably with regard to the power & position of the Rajput rulers of the region.

1. Ibid., p. 695; History of Rajputana, G.H.Ojha, V.I, pp. 235, 236. Nainsi, V.I, p.280, Dy. History of Northern India, H.C.Ray, V.2, pp. 828, 829.

CHAPTER II

RAJASTHAN UNDER THE MUGHALS AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MUGHAL RAJPUT CONTACTS

THE RAJPUT STATES IN THE MIDDLE OF SIXTEENTH CENTURY:

The land which Rajputs occupied in northern India and came to be known as Rajasthan was comprised of some independent and semi-independent Rajput principalities along with some areas of Muslim occupations as Ajmer, Nagor and Jalor. The Rajput states of the region were known by different names in the local dialect such as ¹ Maru, Mada, Jangaldesh, Arbud, Mewar or Medapat, Vagad, Devaliya, Dhundhar and Haraoti; roughly corresponding to the regions of Jodhpur, Jaisalmer, Bikaner, Sirohi, Chittor, Dungarpur, Pratapgarh, Jaipur and Bundi, Kota respectively.

In the east of these states lies the Mughal province of Agra; the province of Delhi in North; the province of Malwa in the east and north-east; the province of Gujarat in south and the province of Dipalpur and Multan in the West.²

The extent of this region at the time of emp. Akbar's reign is mentioned by Abul Fazl in Ain, in the description of

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1. Social life in Medieval Rajasthan, G.N.Sharma, p.32; Comprehensive History of India, V.5, p.783.
 2. Ain, V.2, p.273.

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suba of Ajmer; which includes seven Sarkars namely Ajmer, Jodhpur, Chittor, Ranthambor, Nagor Bikaner and part of Sirohi, while the states of Sirohi, Doongarpur and Banswara are placed ² in Suba of Gujrat. The estimated area of this region from the village of Pokhar (Pushkar) and dependencies of Amber to Bikaner and Jaisalmer was 168 kos in length and 150 kos ³ in breadth from the extreme limit of Sarkar Ajmer to Banswara.

On the basis of their political power and prestige, the Rajput states of the Rajasthan at the time of emperor Akbar's accession can be divided into two groups viz.

- (a) The Independent States with full sovereign powers.
- (b) The semi-Independent states or subordinate states.

(a) INDEPENDENT STATES:

1. Mewar (Chittor):- Among the group of independent states, the state of Mewar was the premier state. It is in the Southern part of Rajasthan situated between 23° 49' to 25° 58' N latitude and 73° 1' to 75° 49' E. longitude having ⁴ an area of 12691, square miles. Its length is 40 kos and

1. Ibid., V. 2, p.109.

2. Ibid., V.2, pp. 256,257.

3. Ibid., p. 273.

4. Vir Vinod, V.I, p.100; Imperial Gazetteer, V.15, p.107.

breadth is 30 kos, and has three famous fortresses of Chittor,¹ Kumbhalmer & Mandalgarh. It was ruled by Guhilot (Sisodiya) clan of Rajputs, having Chittor as its capital city. Emperor Akbar's contemporary ruler of Mewar was Rana Udaï Singh, who² ascended to the throne in V.S. 1597/1540 A.D.

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2. Marwar (Jodhpur):- It was the largest state in area in Rajasthan. It is bounded on north by Bikaner state, on the north-east by Jaisalmer state, on the west by the province of Sindh, on the south west by Rann of Kutch; on the⁴ south by Palanpur and Sirohi and on the south-east by Mewar. The country as its name Marwar (region of death) implies is sterile, sandy and of inhospitable weather. Jodhpur the⁵ capital city of Marwar, was founded by Rao Jodha in 1453 A.D. The rulers of this state belonged to the Rathor clan of Rajputs. Emperor Akbar's contemporary ruler of Marwar was Rao Maldeo who died on 7th November 1562 A.D. and was succeeded by his

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1. Ain, V.2, p. 273.
 2. Vir Vinod, V.2, p.63; Mewar & the Mughal Emperors, G.N.Sharma, p.64.
 3. According to Ain, V.II, p.276. the area of Marwar was 100 kos in length and 60 kos in breadth and it was comprised of Ajmer, Sirohi, Nagor, Jodhpur, Bikaner, and Jaisalmer. Probably these states were included by Abul Fazl in Marwar due to their subordination to Marwar ruler Rao Maldeo.
 4. Imperial Gazetteer, V.14, p.129; Vir Vinod, V.3, p.290.
 5. Nensi, V.3, p.28; Davaladas Ri Khvat, V.I, p.129; Kaviraja Khvat, V.2, p.42; Marwar & the Mughal Emperor, V.S. Bhargava, p.9.

second son Rao Chandra Sen.¹ Under Rao Maldeo, Jodhpur state emerged as premier state of Rajasthan due to the annexation of larger areas of the neighbouring states. But after his death the neighbouring rulers annexed their respective areas from the Marwar state.

3. Janglu (Bikaner):- It is bounded on the north and west by Bahawalpur; on the south-west by Jaisalmer; on the south by Marwar, on the south east by Amber and on the east by Mewat. The southern and eastern portion of the state form part of the vast sandy tract known as Bagar.² It was ruled by the Rathor clan of Rajputs, a junior branch of Jodhpur house. The city and fort of Bikaner was founded by Rao Bika S/o Rao Jodha (of Jodhpur) in V.S. 1525³ or V.S. 1542.⁴ At the time⁵ of Akbar's accession its ruler was Rao Kalyan Singh.

4. Mada (Jaisalmer):- This is the extreme western state of Rajasthan. It is bounded on north by Bahawalpur; on the west by Kunn of Kutchh; on the south and east by Marwar and on the north-east by Bikaner. The country is entirely a

1. Marwar Ka Itihas - E.N.Reu, p.128; Jodhpur Khvat, V.I, p.85; Bankidas Ki Khvat, p.20.

2. Imperial Gazetteer, V.8, p.202.

3. Nensi, V.3, p.29.

4. Vir Vinod, V.2, pp. 478,479; Bikaner Rajva Ka Itihas, G.H.Ojha, V.1, p.96.

5. Vir Vinod, V.2, p. 485.

sandy waste forming part of what is known as great Indian desert.¹ It was ruled by Lhati clan of Rajputs. The fort and city of Jaisalmer, was founded by Rawal Jaisal in V.S. 1212/² 1155 A.D. Emperor Akbar's contemporary ruler of this state was Rawal Harraj, who ascended to the throne in Posh Krishna³ 6, V.S. 1618/27th November 1561 A.D.

5. Dhundhar (Amber):- This state is in the eastern portion of Rajasthan. Towards its north lies the state of Bikaner and Punjab province, to the west Bikaner, Jodhpur and Ajmer, to the south Udaipur and Bundi and to the east the province of Agra.⁴ This state was founded by a descendant of Dulha Rai, of Kachhwaha clan of Gwalior line in about 1150 A.D.⁵ after ousting the Minas. Since then the Kachhwahas ruled this territory, but this state could not grow up like Mewar or Marwar mainly due to internal dissensions of the clan itself and secondly due to the rising power of the houses of Mewar and Marwar. During the first half of the 6th century the political power and prestige of the state was almost negligible. Emperor

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1. Imperial Gazetteer, V.14, p.1.
 2. Nensi, V.2, p.36; V.3, p.29; Rajasthan Through the Ages, D.Sharma, p.280; Vir Vinod, V.4, pp. 1757, 1762.
 3. Vir Vinod, V.4, p. 1762.
 4. Imperial Gazetteer, V.13, p. 382.
 5. Dynastic History of Northern India, H.C.Ray, V.2, pp. 828, 829; Nensi, V.I, pp. 293, 295.

Akbar's contemporary ruler of this state was Raja Bihari Mal¹ (Bharmal) who ascended to the throne in V.S. 1604/1547 A.D.

(B) SEMI-INDEPENDENT STATES:

1. Hadaoti (Bundi):- This state lies in the eastern part of Rajasthan, bounded on the north by Jaipur and Ajmer; on the west by Chittor (Udaipur) and on the South and east by Gwalior.² Mainly it comprised the territory on both the sides of river Chambal within the area of plateau. This areas was captured from the Mina inhabitants, by Deb Singh Hara of Chauhan clan with the help of Rana of Mewar.³ But the fort of Ranthambor and Mandalgarh originally with in the Haraoti region,⁴ remained under the possession of Mewar rulers. The Hara⁵ rulers of Haraoti accepted sovereignty of Mewar from the very inception of the state and served Rana's in their political adventures from time to time. To keep their sovereignty intact, the Ranas of Mewar had exercised the right to confer succession to the throne of Bundi. With the submission of the state to the Mughal Emperor Akbar, the sovereignty of this

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1. Vir Vinod, V.3, p. 1275; Nensi, V.I, p. 297.
 2. Imperial Gazetteer, V.2, p.78; Vir Vinod, V.2,p.100.
 3. Vir Vinod, V.2, pp. 106,107, Nensi, V.I, pp. 97,98.
 4. Eklings Inscription of V.S. 1545/1488 A.D.; Udaipur Rajva ka Itihas, G.H.Ojha, V.I, pp. 328-330.
 5. The Provincial Government of the Mughal, P.Saran, p.140.

state passed from Mewar to Mughals. But before the submission to Mughals, the right to grant succession (tika) to Bundi rulers was applied and Rana Udai Singh gave succession (tika)¹ to Rao Surjan Mal of Bundi, after the death of later's father Rao Surtan in V.S. 1611/1554 A.D.

2. Arbud (Sirohi):- This state is in the southern part of Rajasthan and is encircled on north, north-east and west by Marwar, on the south by Gujarat and on the west by Mewar. Upto the closing years of 13th century it was ruled by Parmara clan of Rajputs.² But in the first quarter of 14th century Lumbraj Chauhan of Deora branch ~~o~~ conquered this state comprising of Abu & Chandravati from Parmaras in V.S. 1377/1320 A.D.³ One of the descendants of Lumbraj, Rao Sahasmal founded the city of Sirohi in V.S. 1452/1395 A.D. The subjugation of this state by Rana Kumbha of Mewar in about 1437 A.D.,⁴ established Mewar's supremacy and sovereignty over it, and remained so untill its submission to Mughal emperor Akbar. Emperor Akbar's contemporary ruler of Sirohi was Hawal Akhai Raj⁵

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1. Nensi, V.I, p.109; Vir Vinod, V.2, p. 108.
 2. Vir Vinod, V.3, pp. 1096, 1211; According to Nensi, V.I, p.134; It was conquered by Chauhans in V.S. 1216.
 3. Nensi, V.I, p.135; V.II, p.29; Vir Vinod, V.3, p.1096.
 4. Kirtistambha Inscription of V.S. 1517/1460 A.D. VV, 11-12.
 5. Vir Vinod, V.3, p. 109.

3. Vagad (Doongarpur):- This state is also in the southern part of Rajasthan. It is bounded on north by Mewar; on the west and south by Idar and on the east by Banswara.¹ The territory of Vagad was conquered by Guhilot prince Samant Singh between 1171-1179 A.D. from Paramara rulers.²

Prior to their submission to the Mughals, the rulers of Doongarpur were subordinate to Ranas of Mewar, paid them tributes and also assisted them in their warlike activities. At the time of Emperor Akbar's accession its ruler was Rawal Askaran.³⁴

4. Banswara:- It is the southern most state of Rajasthan lying between 23° 3' and 23° 5' SN and 73° 58' and 74° 47' E.⁵ This principality came into existence due to the bifurcation of Vagad country after the death of Rawal Uday Singh in V.S. 1584/1528 A.D., the ruler of Doongarpur (Vagad);⁶ Rawal Uday Singh's elder son Rawal Prithviraj ruled Doongarpur while his younger son Jagmal separated some areas from the

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1. Imperial Gazetteer, V.11, p.379; Vir Vinod, V.3, p.1000.
 2. Dynastic History of Northern India, H.C.Ray, V.2, p.924; Rajasthan through the Ages, D.Sharma, V.I, p.673.
 3. Doongarpur Rajva ka Itihas, G.H.Ojha, pp. 73-74.
 4. Vir Vinod, V.3, p. 1007.
 5. Imperial Gazetteer, V.6, p.407.
 6. Nansi, V.I, pp. 70,73.

possessions of Rawal Prithviraj and founded his own principality of Banswara in V.S. 1585/1528 A.D. ¹ Emperor Akbar's contemporary ruler of this state was Rawal Pratap. ² Like its senior state of Doongarpur it also remained under the subordination of rulers of Mewar and paid homage till its submission to the Mughals.

5. Kanthal (Deoliya):- It is a small state on south east side of Mewar. It is bounded on north and north west with Mewar; on south and south west with Lanswara and east with Malwa province. Originally this territory belonged to Sultan of Mandu and was known as Ghayaspur. ³ One of the famous and biggest village of this area was Deolia, which became the seat of administration of this tiny state. When after the death of Rana Mokal, Rana Kumbha ascended to the throne of Mewar, at that time Rana Kumbha's step brothers Khema (Khem Singh) left Chittor and joined the service under Sultan of Mandu. Mahmud Khalji, Sultan of Mandu granted the jagir of Ghayaspur ⁴ to Khem Singh. Khem Singh's son and successor ⁵ Suraj Mal (1473-1530 A.D.) joined Rana Rai Mal after leaving

1. Nensi, V.I, p.87; Vir Vinod, V.3, p.1006, Banswara Ka Itihas, G.H.Ojha, p.69.

2. Akbarnama, V.3, p.277; Vir Vinod, V.3, p.1007.

3. Nensi, V.I, p.90.

4. Khadveda Bayali Inscription, of V.S. 1541/1484 A.D., V.V. 26, 64.

5. Vir Vinod, V.3, pp. 1060,1061.

the service of the Sultan; but still hold the jagir and founded the principality of Deolia. Deolia was made capital by Rao Bika one of the descendant of Suraj Mal in V.S.1617/1560 A.D.¹ The rulers of Deolia remained subordinate to Ranas of Mewar² and in lieu of services they got the jagir of Sadri from the Ranas.

Thus there were ten states in Rajasthan during the middle of 16th century, of whom incidently five were Independent and the rest five semi-independent. Apart from these states the territories of Ajmer, Merta, Nagor and Jalor remained either in the hands of Pathans or in the hands of Marwar or Mewar rulers at different periods. The existence of ten states in a small area like Rajasthan itself suggest the disunity among the Rajputs. Further the relations among the rulers of these states were not cordial due to their selfish motives of annexation of each others territories. Such state of affairs was definitely favourable to Mughal Emperor Akbar, who did not miss the opportunity though he adopted a different policy towards these states.

THE MUGHAL POLICY TOWARDS RAJASTHAN:

The first two rulers of Mughal dynasty Babur and Humayun could not pay much attention towards the affairs of

1. Ibid., V.3, p.1055, Nensi, V.I, p.93.

2. Nensi, V.I, p.97.

Rajasthan due to their pre-occupations in the Doab and Punjab region, though they were anxious to annex or subjugate this region. Babur was anxious to take up the problem as early as possible and definitely after the battle of Khanua, which resulted in the break up of Rajput hegemony under Rana Sanga of Mewar. "But the situation in the east changed (after the battle of Khanua), for Nusrat Shah, the ruler of Bengal, not only welcomed the fugitive Afghan nobles from the Lodi kingdom, but even married the daughter of Ibrahim Lodi and thus established a sort of claim to the leadership of Afghans.¹ However Babur was able to capture Bayana and Chanderi, two strongholds of Rajasthan, to keep a close watch over the activities of the region, but neither he could penetrate into the interior nor he could formulate any definite policy. Probably he kept the policy of isolation in the affairs of Rajasthan due to the pressure of the Afghans.

Babur's eldest son and successor Humayun also could not make out any plans towards the conquest or subjugation of Rajasthan due to the pressure of two of his formidable enemies in the person of Sher Shah, the Afghan leader, and Bahadur Shah, the ruler of Gujrat and ultimately lost the empire to them in the contest, in 1540 A.D.

1. Rise & Fall of Mughal Empire, R.P. Tripathi, p.44.

After an interval of about fifteen years Humayun recaptured his lost empire of Delhi on July 20, 1555 A.D., but before he could start any imperialistic policy, died on January 26, 1556 A.D.

Humayun was succeeded by his son Jalaluddin Mohammad Akbar, who ascended to the throne on 2nd Rabi-us-Sani 963 A.H. /¹ 14th February 1556 A.D., Under the regency of Bairam Khan. During the four years of Bairam Khan's regency (1556-1560 A.D.) most formidable political dangers were overcome, and the sovereignty of emperor Akbar was recognised from Kabul to Jaunpur and from northern hills of Punjab to Ajmer.

Rajasthan occupied a prominent place in Akbar's scheme of conquest after the fall of Bairam Khan's regency, to fulfil his ambition of becoming the sovereign and suzerain of India,² which was not possible until the Rajput states of Rajasthan acknowledged his suzerainty.

The reasons which included Akbar to take active interest in the affairs of Rajasthan are attributed to different motives.

The story of his father's expulsion from Hindustan and the advice given to the late emperor (Humayun) by Shah of

1. Akbarnama, V.2, p.5.

2. The Provincial Government of the Mughals, P.Saran, p.111.

Persia, "unless you subdue to Rajputs, it will be very difficult¹ in India," induced him to take active interest in the affairs of Rajasthan.

According to some writers Akbar was compelled to take active interest in the subjugation of Rajasthan, to secure the trade² routes to the ports of Gujrat which passes through Rajasthan. Since trade and commerce was essential to build up the economy of the empire, therefore Rajasthan's occupation was necessary for him.

Akbar's extreme devotion and reverence for the tomb of Shaikh Moimuddin Chisti of Ajmer and his frequent visits to that place might have³ ~~been~~ induced emperor to keep Ajmer and neighbouring territory permanent under his immediate control.

It is said that Rajasthan as a whole and Mewar particularly⁴ was used as a place of refuge by Mughal rebels such as Bairam Khan, Baz Bahadur of Malwa, Man Singh Deora of Sirchi and Jaimal of Martl. etc. Therefore the independence of this

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1. Dhakhirat-ul-Khawanin, p.104, Cf. Marwar & the Mughal Emperors, V.S. Bhargava, p.40; Provincial Government of the Mughals, p. Saran, p.110.
 2. Akbar the Great Mughal, V.A.Smith, p.82; History of Jahangir, Beni Prasad, p.203; Marwar & the Mughal Emperors, V.S.Bhargava, p.40.
 3. Marwar & the Mughal Emp., V.S.Bhargava, p.41.
 4. Akbarnama, V.2, p.159; Mewar and the Mughal Emp., G.N.Sharma, pp. 59,60; ~~Mirkh~~ Sirchi Rajya Ka Itihas, G.H.Ojha, pp. 207-214. Akbar the Great, ~~Ex~~ A.L.Srivastava, V.I,p.113.

region would have been a threat to the existence of Mughal power and authority. To remove this danger Emperor Akbar intended to subjugate this area.

Akbar's plan of conquering Gujrat¹ and Deccan could not be achieved~~/until~~ the subjugation of Rajasthan was not completed. Thus without the subjugation of Mewar, which lay on the road to Gujrat, it would not be wise to attempt the conquest of that rich province and his claim to be the paramount power would have been frustrated.

With the eye of a statesman Akbar saw that the uncertainty of the Mughal tenure of power was due to the basic fact that they were foreigners as against the Afghans, who were the children of soil and so long as the Afghans remained to dispute the sovereignty of Hindustan, these Rajputs must be conciliated and their cooperation must be ensured.² This he could do diplomatically by subjugation of Rajasthan only.

Thus a quite large number of motives are attributed towards the Mughal policy vis-a-vis Rajasthan. Out of these above discussed motives some seems to be baseless and without

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1. Mewar & the Mughal Emp., G.N.Sharma, p.60, Akbar the Great Mughal, V.A.Smith, p.82; Akbar the Great, A.L.Srivastava, V.2, p.327.
 2. I.H., Vol.VIII, 1932, Cf. The Nature of Mughal Conquest, H.N. Sinha, p.290.

any substantive evidence while other seems to be reasonably applicable and might have influenced the policy of Mughal emperor Akbar for the subjugation of Rajasthan. As far as the question of Shah of Persia's advice to Humayun is concerned, is based on the information of Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin which was compiled about the middle of 17th century during the reign of emperor Shahjahan, and can not be relied for the periods of Humayun and Akbar. Further, the information supplied by Dhakhirat-ul-Khwanin is not corroborated by any of the contemporary sources, and the fact of Shah Persia's knowledge about Indian affairs and particularly about the Rajputs also seems to be doubtful.

Another motive ascribed to economic necessity for securing the trade routes to the ports of Gujrat through Rajasthan seems to be out of place, since Gujrat was not included in the territory of Mughal emperor, when he started the subjugation of Rajasthan. This motive could be applicable only when Gujrat would have been under the Mughals.

Thirdly to suggest the subjugation of Rajasthan due to the devotion to the Shrine of Chishti saint of Ajmer by the Mughal rulers, not only seems unreasonable but also undermines

1. However, this information has been referred by Maunucci in "Storia Do Mogor", V.I, p.120.

the religious outlook and religious policy of the emperor. It is true that Akbar had a great regard for Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti of Ajmer and also often visited the tomb of the saint between 1562-1579 A.D. During this period Akbar was also busy in subjugating Rajasthan, therefore the visits to Ajmer in this period were both religiously and politically motivated. because it was at Ajmer that he decided and made arrangements for the subjugation of the different states of Rajasthan by sending armies to the different directions under different generals and watched their progress. Finally when he was able to subjugate the whole region of Rajasthan except the small territory of Mewar by 1579, he stopped the visits to Ajmer till his death in 1605 A.D.

Most likely Akbar was keen to forge the closest links with the Rajputs as a set off against the Afghans and faithless nobles of the court,¹ and also to get the support of local element among which Rajput suits the most due to their political power and prestige in the Indian society.²

To achieve the support and loyalty of all the Rajput rulers of Rajasthan Akbar adopted a new policy towards Rajasthan where by the Rajput rulers had to acknowledge the

1. Rise & Fall of Mughal Empire, K.P.Tripathi, p.229.
2. Indian Culture, V.14, No.3, 1948, Cf. The Policy of Mughals vis-a-vis the Rajput States, H.Goetz, p.91.
3. Provincial Government of the Mughals, P.Saran, pp.111,125.

sovereignty of Mughal emperor Akbar, to pay tribute regularly¹ and to furnish contingents for the Imperial army. In return of their acceptance of Mughal sovereignty the rulers were left free to enjoy their internal authority over their respective territories. Thus Akbar had clearly shown that he did not wish either to annex their states or interfere with their social, economic or religious life. He wanted nothing more² than their allegiance.

SUBJUGATION OF RAJASTHAN:

Before the commencement of his policy towards Rajasthan, Akbar had already occupied Nagaur,³ a part of Mewat⁴ Ajmer⁵ and Jaitaran at the close of 1557 A.D., but these were isolated occupations and not part of a compact dominion. It was in the 1562 A.D. that he started to take measures to implement his policy towards Rajasthan with a visit to the shrine of saint Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti.

1. Ibid., p. 130.

2. Rise & Fall of Mughal Empire, R.P.Tripathi, pp.223,224.

3. Akbarnama, V.2, p. 73.

4. Ibid., V.2, p.71.

5. Ibid., V.2, p.73.

SUBMISSION OF AMBER:

When Akbar set out on his first pilgrimage to Ajmer on January 14, 1562 A.D., at Sanganer few miles from Amber Raja Bihari Mal Kachhwaha¹ was introduced by Chagtai Khan to the emperor. The Raja had come not only to pay homage but also to seek protection from Mohammad Sharfuddin Husain, governor of Mewat, who was supporting the cause of Raja's nephew Suja to drive him off from Amber. Sharfuddin Husain led an army against Raja Bihar Mal, and fixed a tribute on Raja and also took with him Raja's son Jagannath and nephews Raj Singh and Kangar² as hostages. The state of Amber during this period had neither the resources nor the strength to face any serious military power. Beside this it was exposed to the Mughal ruler due to its nearness to the Mughal kingdom. Thus Raja Bihari Mal had no option except to seek the protection of Akbar. Akbar³ received the Raja with kindness, and set free Jagannath, Raj Singh and Kangar who were held as hostages by Sharfuddin Husain. Raja Bihar Mal accepted Akbar's overlordship and his son Bhagwandas, grandson Man Singh and a number of their relatives⁴ and officers entered into the service of Akbar. At the

1. Akbarnama, V.2, p.240; Tabwat-i-Akbari, V.2, p.258.

2. Akbarnama, V.2, p.240.

3. Ibid., V.3, p.243.

4. Akbarnama, V.2, p.244.

same time Raja Biharidas voluntarily married his eldest¹ daughter to Akbar, which established bonds of blood relationship between Mughals and Rajputs of Amber house.

CONQUEST OF MERTA:

In the return journey from Ajmer, Akbar directed Sharfuddin Husain, the governor of Mewat and Ajmer to conquer Merta, which was under the possession of Rao Maldeo of Marwar. The fortress of Merta was on the border of Marwar and Ajmer, and its conquest was essential to conquer the state of Marwar. After a fierce battle the fortress fell into the hands of² Mughal forces in the same year (1562 A.D.).

EXPEDITION AGAINST MARWAR:

After the conquest of Merta, in his 8th R.Y. Akbar sent³ Husain quli Khan to subjugate Marwar. At this time Marwar was ruled by Chandra Sen one of the sons of Rao Maldeo. Chandra Sen was defeated by the Imperial forces but he did not accept overlordship of Akbar and fled away from his capital. The imperial forces could hold it temporarily and thus this expedition failed. However this expedition proved partially succ-

1. Ibid., V.2, p.243.

2. Ibid., V.2, p.247; Tabaqat-i-Akbari, V.2, p. 259.

3. Akbarnama, V.2, p. 305.

essful since Ram Rai, the eldest son of Rao Maldeo came and joined the imperial service, and continued to possess Sojat independent from Marwar State but under the suzerainty of Akbar.

EXPEDITION AGAINST MEWAR:

After the submission of Amber and fall of Merta, Akbar gave priority for the subjugation of Mewar instead of Marwar. Because firstly he felt that the reduction of this premier state would prepare the way for the submission of other Rajput states (mostly the semi-independent states i.e., Bundi, Doongarpur, Banswara, Sirohi and Deolia, the subordinate states of Mewar) which were not so strong or hostile as the Rana's of Mewar. Secondly situated in the heart of Rajasthan, the state could act as a perennial source of inspiration for freedom to all Rajput princes.¹ Now the fresh provocation was given to Akbar, when Rana gave shelter to Baz Bahadur,² the ex-ruler of Malwa against Akbar.

Therefore on September 19, 1567³ Akbar marched towards Chittor and captured the forts of Siro⁴ Supar (Shivpur),

1. Rise & Fall of Mughal Empire, R.P.Tripathi, p.201.

2. Tabaqat-i-Akbari, V.2, p.262; Muntakhebut-Tawarikh, V.2, p.48.

3. Akbarnama, V.2, p.443.

4. Ibid., V.2, p. 443.

Ranthambore,¹ Kota,² Gagraun,³ Mandal⁴ and Rampura⁵ in the way, before reaching in the vicinity of Chittor, on October 23, 1567 A.D. Hearing the fall of above mentioned fortresses and the approach of Akbar, Rana Udal Singh of Mewar vacated Chittor, leaving the defence and arrangement of the fort in the hands of Jaimal Rathor. After a siege of four months Chittor fell into the hands of Akbar on February 24,⁶ 1568 A.D. Thus most of the region of Chittor kingdom was conquered by Akbar, though he could not make Rana his subordinate.

Akbar refrained himself from undertaking any direct military expedition against Mewar for four years after the capture of Chittor in February 1568. During this period Akbar's policy was to achieve the submission of Rajput rulers by peaceful means and by showing friendly gestures. In pursuance of his policy Akbar ordered his nobles that, "Rana and other zamindars of the neighbourhood were to be treated with princely favours and to be brought to do homage and the disobedient to be punished."⁷ To achieve his aim, Akbar sent

1. Ibid., V.2, p. 444.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., V.2, p.464.

5. Tabaqat, V.2, p.343, Muntakhab, V.2, p.105.

6. Akbarnama, V.2, p.476; Tabaqat, V.2, p.346; Muntakhab, V.2, pp. 105,106.

7. Ibid., V.3, p.48.

three missionaries under Man Singh,¹ Raja² Bhagwant Das and Raja³ Todar Mal to pursue Rana to accept his overlordship. When these missions failed then the only option left for Akbar was to use force against Rana.

After making free himself from Bengal cum Bihar problem and suppressing the uprising of Chandra Sen of Marwar, Akbar appointed Man Singh⁴ to led the first expedition against Rana in March 1576, Shahbaz Khan⁵ to led second and third expedition in December 1578 and November 1579 respectively and Jagannath⁶ to led fourth expedition in December 1584. But all these expeditions failed and Rana Pratap Singh the ruler of Mewar could not be humbled. After the failure of Jagannath's expedition Akbar did not send any army against Mewar because he had already crippled its strength and it could not be a source of serious anxiety to him. The state of Mewar was comprised of very small hilly tract under the possession of Rana while the important fort, fortresses and fertile land⁷ were annexed by Akbar. Beside the above fact from 1585 A.D.

1. Ibid., V.3, p. 57.

2. Ibid., V.3, p.89.

3. Ibid.

4. Akbarnama, V.3, pp. 236, 307.

5. Ibid., V.3, pp. 339, 340, 459.

6. Ibid., V.3, p.661.

7. The Provincial Government of the Mughals, P.Saran, p.133.

onwards, the emperors attention was absorbed in the pressing problem of north-western frontier of India particularly after the death of Mirza Hakim in 1585 A.D.

CONQUEST OF RANTHAMBOR:

After the fall of Chittor in 1568, Akbar made his mind¹ to conquer Ranthambor, which was also in the possession of one of Rana's noble Surjan Hara. The Mughal forces were despatched² under the leadership of Ashraf Khan on December 21, 1568 A.D., and joined by Akbar,³ On February 10, 1569 A.D. at Ranthambore. After a besiege of one month Surjan Hara agreed to surrender the fort to Akbar without fighting through the pursuation of Bhagwant Das, Man Singh⁴ and other nobles Surjan Haran entered into the Mughal service and enrolled himself as Mughal mansabdar.

SUBMISSION OF JODHPUR, BIKANER & JAISALMER:

Akbar paid another visit to the shrine of Chishti saint at Ajmer in October 1570 A.D. again with the intention of subjugating the states of western region of Rajasthan. After making his pilgrimage at Ajmer, he left Ajmer for Nagaur on

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1. Ibid., V.2, pp. 218, 444; Tabaqat, V.2, p.350, Muntakhab, V.2, p. 110.
 2. Akbarnama, V.2, p.489.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Ibid., V.2, p.494; Tabaqat, V.3, p.353; The Provincial Government of the Mughals, P. Saran, p.140.

November 3, 1570 A.D. and he stayed at Nagaur for about fifty days. According to Abul Fazl, the purpose of emperors coming and staying at this place was "to put things in order and administer justice."¹

During his unusual stay for such a long time at Nagaur, probably Akbar sent certain missions to the neighbouring states under the Rachhwaha princes of Amber house, to pursue the rulers of those states to accept his overlordship. As a result of these efforts Rao Chandra Sen² S/o Rao Maldeo of Marwar; Rai Kalyan Mal³ and his son Rai Singh of Bikaner and Rawal Haraj⁴ of Jaisalmer submitted to Akbar and accepted his overlordship at Nagaur. The rulers of Bikaner and Jaisalmer also gave princesses of their families in marriage to Akbar, and established the blood relationship like the Amber house.

Among these, the rulers of Bikaner and Jaisalmer remained loyal to Akbar but Chandra Sen⁵ of Marwar thrown Akbar's suzerainty and revolted against him after strengthening his position in the fort of Siwana, because he could not

1. Ibid., V.2, p.518.

2. Akbarnama, V.2, p.518; Tabaqat, V.2, p. 361; Marwar Ka Itihas, L.N.Reu, V.I, p.151.

3. Akbarnama, V.2, p.518, Bikaner Ka Itihas, G.H.Ojha, V.I, pp. 155,166; Muntakhab, V.2, p.137.

4. Akbarnama, V.2, p. 518.

5. Ibid., V.3, p.113.

get the possession of Jodhpur fort which was already in the hands of Mughals since 1563 A.D.¹, secondly he also noticed Akbar's liking for his elder brother Udaï Singh. To crush the rebellious rising of Chandra Sen, Akbar sent an army under Shahbaz Khan² in 1576, which captured the fort of Siwara and Dunara, Chandra Sen was left without any territory in the Marwar region and moved from one place to another as homeless wanderer³, closely followed by the Mughal forces till his death in 1581 A.D. With the death of Chandra Sen, the phase of struggle came to an end. Chandra Sen's elder brother Udaï Singh⁴ ultimately became the ruler of Marwar in 1583 A.D. after a lapse of 2 years and Akbar gave him the possession of Sojhat only keeping rest of the Marwar territory under his direct control and possession.

SUBMISSION OF DOONGARPUR & BANSWARA:

According to his policy to keep Rana Pratap isolated, Akbar adopted the measure to break up the alliance of Rana's supporters, among whom the rulers of Doongarpur, Banswara and Sirohi were prominent. As a result of this policy and to show

1. Ibid., V.2, p. 305; Ain, V.I, p.349.

2. Ibid., V.3, pp. 237, 238.

3. Ibid., V.3, p. 466.

4. Bankidas Bi Khvat, p.22; Vir Vinod, V.2, p.814; Jodhpur Khvat, V.I, pp. 92,93.

the might of emperor, Man Singh ravaged the country side of
Doongarpur in 1574 A.D. and Rai Singh, Tarson Khan and Saiyid
Hashim Barha attacked Sirohi in 1577 A.D.

When Akbar returned from Gogunda after establishing
garrison in the Mewar territory in 1577 A.D. and marched to
Malwa by way of Udaipur and Banswara. It was here at Banswara
that Rawal Pratap, the ruler of Banswara and Rawal Askanan, the
ruler of Doongarpur paid their respect to the emperor and accep-
ted emperor's overlordship. These two states now became
vassal states. The ruler of Doongarpur not only submitted
but also send his daughter to the emperor's harem probably
due to the pursuation of Raja Birbar and Rai Lunkaran.

SUBMISSION OF SIROHI:

At about the same time (Banswara and Doongarpur's
submission) Rai Singh who was posted on the border of Gujrat
was directed to conquer. Sirohi, Rai Rai Singh attacked
Sirohi and defeated its ruler Rao Surtan, who fled away to

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1. Akbarnama, V.3, p.57.
 2. Ibid., V.3, p.266; Tabaqat, V.2, p.372.
 3. Akbarnama, V.3, p.277; Tabaqat, V.2, p.497; Doongarpur Ka Itihas - G.H.Ojha, p.94.
 4. Akbarnama, V.3, p.295.
 5. Ibid., V.3, p.278.
 6. Ibid., V.3, p.266.

Mount Abu and took refuge in the fortress (Abugarh). But Rai Singh also besieged him there. Under the pressure of Rai Singh, Rao Surtan agreed to accept Akbar's overlordship and surrendered the fort in 1577 A.D. Rai Singh left the fort in charge of his men and proceeded to court along with Rao Surtan¹ of Sirohi, where his submission was accepted by Akbar. But the state of Sirohi was divided into two parts, one half remained under the possession of Surtan while the second half² was given to Jagmal S/o Rana Uda Singh.

SUBMISSION OF BUNDI:

Another object of Akbar's concern was the state of Bundi, which was ruled by Rao Duda S/o Rao Surjan Hara of Ranthambor. Though Rao Surjan and his two sons Bhoj & Dua had joined the Mughal service in early 1569 A.D.³ Duda left the Mughal service and came to his native country and rebelled against the authority of emperor. In 1576 Akbar sent an army to suppress⁴ the rebellion of Duda, under the leadership of Safdar Khan and Bahadur Khan. But this expedition failed, therefore⁵ another army was sent under Zain Khan Koka in 1577 and Surjan

1. Ibid., V.3, p. 279.

2. Tabaqat, V.2, p.563; Muntakhab, V.2, p.337.

3. Akbarnama, V.2, pp. 493, 494.

4. Akbarnama, V.3, p. 258.

5. Ibid., V.3, p. 283.

and Bhoj also accompanied him. A fierce battle was fought at Untgardan and Duda was defeated, but he escaped and never submitted to Akbar. The state of Bundi¹ was given to Bhoj, who was already a loyal servant of the emperor.

Thus between 1562 to 1582 A.D. Akbar subjugated almost whole of Rajasthan except the submission of Rana of Mewar leaving a small part of hilly territory under his possession. In the process of Rajasthan's subjugation Akbar adopted two policies viz:

- (a) Policy of annexation.
- (b) Policy of subjugation.

(a) Policy of Annexation:- According to this policy, Akbar conquered and annexed those territories of Rajasthan which were either ruled by Muslims or the territories of the Rajputs who did not acknowledge his overlordship. Such as Merta (1563 A.D.), Chittor (1568 A.D.), Ranthambor (1569 A.D.), half of Sirohi (1577 A.D.) and Marwar (1581 A.D.) were among the territories of Rajputs who hesitated or delayed in accepting Akbar's suzerainty. On the other hand Ajmer Nagaur and Jalor were being annexed, which were ruled by Muslim rulers. These all territories were kept under the direct control of Mughal administration.

1. Ibid.

(b) Policy of Subjugation:- The policy of subjugation applied to the states of Rajput ruling chiefs, who accepted Akbar's overlordship and also enrolled themselves in the Mughal service. For the reward of their allegiance and also of joining Mughal service, internal autonomy of their respective states was granted to them except a few limitations.¹ Among this category the main states were Amber (1562 A.D.), Bikaner and Jaisalmer (1570 A.D.), Doongarpur, Banswara Sirohi and Bundi (1577 A.D.). It was no part of his (Akbar) design to completely wipe out the states and principalities which existed at the time. "Possessed of a keen insight, Akbar had recognized the inevitable necessity of leaving these chiefs in virtual enjoyment of their internal authority over their respective territories, for the sake of establishing his rule on firm and enduring foundations."²

However, in this process of Rajasthan's subjugation leading role was played by the princes of Amber house (Kachhwahas), who were the first to accept Akbar's overlordship among the Rajputs. It was their intercession and persuasion³ which made most of the rulers of Rajasthan to fall in line with them in accepting Akbar's overlordship.

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1. For limitations please see Chapter III.
 2. Provincial Government of Mughals, P.Saran, pp. 111,130.
 3. Proc. I.H.C., 1960, Cf. Was Rana Pratap to blame for not joining Akbar, A.L.Srivastava, p.191.

Akbar's son and successor Jahangir also followed Akbar's policy in maintaining the established relations with the Rajput rulers, and also continued efforts to subdue Rana of Mewar to complete the subjugation of the whole region. Like Akbar, Jahangir also started the policy of forgive and forget, to win Rana's subordination if possible by peaceful means. When he sent the first expedition against Rana under the leadership of Parvaz, in 1605 A.D. he specifically directed Parvez, "If the Rana himself, and the eldest, son who is called Karan, should come to wait upon you proffer service and obedience, you should not do any injury to his territory." But Rana could not be brought to obedience upto the 8th R.Y. of Jahangir though Mahabat Khan, Abdullah & Raja Basu led expeditions one after another. Towards the close of his 8th R.Y., Jahangir left Agra for Ajmer with the intention of pilgrimage to the shrine of Chishti saint and also to subdue Rana. From Ajmer Jahangir sent a force under prince Khurram against Rana, who being without remedy choose obedience and loyalty and submitted, to Jahangir in the 9th R.Y. (1614 A.D.) and according to Mughal policy of submission Rana Amar Singh's heir apparent prince Karan was

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1. Tuzuk, V.I, pp.16,17, Maasir-i-Jahangiri, p.36.
 2. Tuzuk, V.I, p.26.
 3. Tuzuk, V.I, pp. 249,250; History of Jahangir - Beni Prasad, pp. 209,221.
 4. Ibid., V.I, pp. 273,274; Maasir-i-Jahangiri, p.103, Nonsi V.I, pp. 24,30; Banswara Ka Itihas, G.H.Ojha, p.94; Bankidas, p.95.

enrolled in Mughal service, though Rana Amar Singh was exempted from the coming to the court. Thus the long drawn struggle against Mewar which began in the time of Akbar came to a close. Jahangir's attitude on this occasion was magnanimous and statesman like, when he restored to Rana all the conquered parts of Mewar,¹ knowing Rana's weak financial position and ruined conditions. As a result of this magnanimity Mewar remained henceforth a loyal and subordinate ally of the Mughals.²

With the submission of Rana of Mewar whole area of Rajasthan passed under the suzerainty of Mughals and remained so till the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 A.D. The acceptance of Mughal service brought the Rajput rulers in direct touch with the Mughal emperors and their court. Being a close contact between the Mughals and Rajputs, the process of cultural give and take started and influenced each other accordingly.

RAJPUT-MUGHAL MATRIMONIAL ALLIANCES:

With the keen wisdom of a statesman, Akbar realized the value of the cooperation of the Rajputs, whom he considered the men of chivalric character and the cream of Hindu society,

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1. Provincial Government of the Mughals, P.Saran, p.137.
Banswara Ka Itihas, G.H.Ojha, p.94.
 2. Prov. Govt. of the Mughals, P.Saran, p.139; I.H.R.C. 1951, V.28, P.11, Cf. Two Firmans of Shahjahan to the Rana of Udaipur, Sh. Abdur Rashid, p.74.

and through them alone the Hindu populace could be best placated.¹ To ensure their cooperation, he adopted generous policy towards them at the time of their subjugation, when internal autonomy was granted to all Rajput rulers who accepted his suzerainty. Further to make them more loyal and faithful and to consolidate his own position, Akbar began the policy of making matrimonial alliances with them.

The inter-marriages between Mughals and Rajputs opened a new phase of cordiality between them towards each other. But the intermarriages between Rajputs and Muslims were not new. Prior to the Mughals, the Rajput rulers had married their princesses² with the Muslims but probably under duress when they were defeated by the Muslims and who as conquerors had demanded the princesses. Such marriages were naturally the forced ones, and instead of developing blood relationship, they further deepened the enmity.

During the Mughal period the significance of matrimonial alliances lies in the fact of their being voluntary and willing, marriages, therefore, developing the bonds of love and relationship of blood between the Mughals and Rajputs.³ Raja Bihari Mal

1. I.H.Q., Vol.8, 1932, Cf. The Nature of Mughal Conquest - H.N.Sinha, pp. 280,291; The Prov. Govt. of the Mughals, P.Saran, p.143.
2. See Table 'A'.
3. Proc. I.H.Q., 1947, Cf. paper by H.Goetz, p.342; Rajput States & East India Company, A.C.banerjee, p.23.

of Amber was the first Rajput ruler, who offered his daughter¹ in marriage to Akbar in 1562 at Sanganer during Akbar's first pilgrimage to the shrine of Chishti saint of Ajmer, though² compelled under extraordinary political circumstances which threatened the extinction of his kingdom. It is worthy, to note that the proposal of marriage had emanated from Raja³ Bihari Mal himself, and was accepted by Akbar, the princess⁴ entered into Akbar's harem at Sambhar. After this marriage⁵ probably it was Bhagwandas S/o Raja Bihar Mal, who suggested to Akbar the new policy of alliance with the Rajputs, and made⁶ a persistent and a greatly successful attempt all his life to prevail upon the Rajput rulers to enter into similar matrimonial alliances with Akbar and his sons in order to make them fall in line with Amber ruling house. As a result⁷ of Bhagwandas's persuasion the rulers of Bikaner and Jaisalmer

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1. Akbarnama, V.2, p. 242.
 2. Ibid., V.2, pp.240,241,243; Prov.Govt. of the Mughals, P.Saran, pp. 142,143.
 3. Akbarnama, V.2, p.243; J.I.H., 1968, V.XLVI, p.I,Cf. Amber's Alliance with Akbar, A.L.Srivastava, p.31; Proc. I.H.C.1960, Cf. Is Rana Pratap to blame for not joining Akbar, A.L. Srivastava, p.191.
 4. Akbarnama, V.2, p. 243.
 5. Indian Culture, 1948, Vol.14, No.3, Cf. The Policy of Grand Mughals.
 6. J.I.H., 1968, Vol. XLVI, p.I, Cf. Amber's Alliance with Akbar, A.L.Srivastava, p.33; J.I.H. 1970, Vol.XLVIII,p.II, Cf. Some Misconceptions About Rana Pratap, A.L.Srivastava, p.212; Vir Vinod, V.2, p.174.
 7. Akbarnama, V.2, p.518.

also made matrimonial alliances with Akbar in 1570 A.D., and the suit was followed by others also.¹ The policy of making matrimonial alliances with Rajputs was continued by emperor² Jahangir, Shahjahan³ and Aurangzeb⁴ but with few variations in the nature & pattern of these alliances and in the celebrations of marriages.

PATTERN OF MARRIAGES:

The pattern of Mughal Rajput matrimonial alliances was one sided where the princesses of Rajput rulers were accepted as brides by the Mughals but on the other side the Mughals did not marry their princesses to the Rajputs.

Secondly, the Mughals accepted the Rajput brides of the ruling houses and not of the ordinary Rajput nobles or other non-Muslims, since they were not considered fit for a marriage alliance.

Thirdly, the successors of Akbar, claiming their suzerain⁵ power started the practice of demanding Rajput brides in

1. See Table 'B' for Matrimonial Alliances of Akbar's period.
2. See Table 'C' for Jahangir's period.
3. See Table 'D' for Shahjahan's period.
4. See Table 'E' for Aurangzeb's period.
5. Tuzuk, V.I, p.144; Vir Vinod, V.2, p.443; History of India, Elliot & Dowson, V.6, p.317. Wasiat-i-Jahangiri. The only exception was the house of Mewar, who were exempted from this condition at the time of their submission.

marriages, which changed the concept of voluntary marriages in the sense that offers were not from the sides of bride's parents.

Lastly, being voluntary & willing marriages the Rajput wives were allowed by the Mughals to visit their paternal homes, thereby strengthening the blood relationship between the Mughals and Rajputs, particularly on the occasions of some of their relations illness or sad demise. These visits also helped in breaking the racial or religious prejudices of inter-dining which existed earlier. These Rajput wives of the Mughals were treated well and without any discrimination by their parents or brothers and sisters etc., during such visits, though they were the wives of the Muslims. But these visits were not frequent.

It seems that these marriages removed the religious bias against the Mughals from the hearts of the Rajputs.

NATURE OF MARRIAGE CELEBRATIONS:

Another important aspect of these Rajput-Mughal matrimonial alliances lie in the process of marriage celebrations.

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1. Jaisalmer's phuteswar temple Inscription of V.S. 1674/1577 A.D.; J.I.H., 1968, V.XLVI, p. I, pp.32,33, Cf. Amber's Alliance with Akbar - A.L.Srivastava.
 2. Akbarnama, V.3, p.49; J.I.H., 1968, V.XLVI, P.I, p.34, Cf. Amber's Alliance with Akbar - A.L.Srivastava.

Akbar's matrimonial alliances with the Rajput princesses were not conducted in the normal way either according to Hindu customs or to Muslim customs. Akbar's marriages with the Rajput princesses were without marriage celebrations and simply that the Rajput princesses entered the Mughal harem by way of ¹Dola marriages. The custom of dola marriages was prevalent among the Rajputs, where the daughters of the nobles or ordinary Rajputs were sent to the house of Rajput rulers without performing the rituals of marriage ceremony. Therefore such marriages took place usually when the bridegroom was of higher social status than the family of the bride. Probably due to the reason the Rajput rulers being subordinate of Mughals sent the dolas of their princesses. All the marriages between 1562 A.D. to 1578 A.D. were the dola marriages.

However, we find a definite change in the marriage procedure from 1584 A.D. onward with the first marriage of prince Salim with a Rajput bride. This was the marriage between prince Salim and the daughter of Bhagwandas Lachhwaha, which took place on February 16, 1584 A.D. at Lahore. This marriage was conducted according to the established customs of marriage, where emperor along with his son prince Salim as

1. Bankidas Ji Khvat, p.192; Vir Vinod, V.2, p.174, Akbarnama, V.2, pp. 243,278,296,506,518; Ain, V.I, pp.320,347; Tabaqat, V.2, pp. 361,384.

bride¹ and principal nobles of the kingdom, went to Raja Bhagwandas's house and with full festivities and celebrations marriage took place in the presence of ² qazi's and Rs.2 crores were fixed as Mahr (bride's money). Obviously this marriage was conducted according to Muslim law and the Rajput princes might have been converted into Islam before the marriage (Nikah) because according to Islamic law both bride and bridegroom³ should belong to the Islamic faith.

3

Prince Salim's marriages with Manbai D/o Raja Udai Singh of Jodhpur in V.S. 1644/1587 A.D. and with the D/o Rai Singh of Bikaner in the same year were also celebrated similarly like the manner of his earlier marriage with the daughter of Raja Bhagwandas. For other marriages of prince Salim we do not find any details. In the absence of marriage details we may presume that the later marriages might have been celebrated like the earlier ~~xx~~ ones.

During the reign of Shahjahan only one matrimonial alliance took place, whose details are not known. However in

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1. Akbarnama, V.3, p.678; Vir Vinod, V.2, p.178; Tabaqat, V.2, p.599; History of Jahangir - Beni Prasad, p.26.
 2. Tabaqat, V.2, p.599. The fixation of Mahr, shows that this marriage was according to Islamic custom.
 3. Akbarnama, V.3, p.748; Vir Vinod, V.2, pp. 178,179, Ain, V.I, pp. 323,384.

the period of Aurangzeb we find definite evidences which show that before marriage Rajput princesses were converted into Islam,¹ and the marriages were celebrated according to Islamic law and also the custom of the visit of bride's house was forbidden though the custom of dowry from the side of Bride's² parents still continued.

However, it seems that during the whole period from Akbar to Aurangzeb, the Rajput³ princesses who entered into Mughal harem, embraced Islam. The assertion that "Amber princess (Akbar's wife) was not compelled to become a Muslim and remained Hindu all her life,"³ seems to be unfounded because after death⁴ every Rajput princess married to the Mughals was buried and not cremated according to Hindu law.

The inter-marriages between the Mughals and Rajput rulers of Rajasthan ultimately resulted in cementing the alliance between the Mughals and the Rajputs. The process of integration began during the period of Akbar, who looked upon the Rajputs as his relatives and reposed implicit trust in them to the extent that he sent his one month old infant

1. Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p.22.

2. Ibid., p. 103.

3. J.L.H., 1968, V.XLVI, p.I, p.31. Cf. Amber's Alliance with Akbar - A.L.Srivastava.

4. The Amber princess, who was married to Akbar was buried near Akbar's tomb at Sikandara, while the second Amber princess the D/o Bhagwandas was buried in Allahabad in Khusro garden.

son Daniyal, born of a Muslim lady, to Amber to be looked after by Raja Bihari Mal's queen.¹ The integration was so perfect towards the close of Aurangzeb's reign that a Mughal princess called upon the Hadas to offer their lives for defending her camp from the Marathas by claiming that "the honour of Ghagtai's is on²with the honour of the Rajputs."

The Rajputs also developed the feeling that they had the stake in the Mughal empire and always shed their blood to defend it during the whole period from Akbar to Aurangzeb. They gave full cooperation to the Mughal empire with all their resources and Akbar's object was achieved fully with the passage of time. The object of Akbar for making matrimonial alliances is mentioned by Abul Fazl, who says, "His Majesty forms matrimonial alliances with the princess of Hindustan and other countries; and secures by these ties of harmony the³ peace of world."

1. Akbarnama, V.2, p. 543.

2. History of Aurangzeb, J.N.Sarkar, V.IV, p.302; The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb, M.Athar Ali, p.25.

3. Ain, V.I, p.45.

TABLE 'A'

- 59 -

MATRIMONIAL ALLIANCES BETWEEN RAJPUTS AND MUSLIMS PRIOR TO MUGHALS

<u>Bridegroom</u>	<u>Bride</u>	<u>Rajput State</u>	<u>Year of Marriage</u>	<u>Sources</u>	<u>Other Information</u>
1. Shamash Khan (Ratohpur-Jhunjhum)	D/o Rao Jodha	Jodhpur	(Mid 15th Century)	<u>Kyam Khan</u> <u>Rasa</u> p.39.	
2. Sultan Mahmood (Gujrat)	Bai Kanka D/o Rao Maldeo	Jodhpur	(Early 16th c.)	<u>Bankidas R1</u> <u>Khvat</u> , p.20; <u>Vigat</u> , V.I, p.52.	After the death of Gujrat's Sultan she came to Jaisalmer to live with her elder sister Sajna Bai who was married to Jaisalmer ruler.
3. Haji Khan (Nagor)	Matnavati Bai D/o Rao Maldeo	Jodhpur	(Early 16th c.)	<u>Bankidas R1</u> <u>Khvat</u> , p.20; <u>Vigat</u> , V.I, p.52.	After Haji Khan's death, she came to Jodhpur died in V.S. 1649/1592 A.D.
4. Nahar Khan (Ratohpur) Jhunjhum)	D/o Rao Lunkaran	Bikaner	(Early 16th c.)	<u>Kyam Khan</u> <u>Rasa</u> , p.49.	
5. Badshah Sur (Unidentified ruler of Sur Dynasty)	Lal Bai D/o Rao Maldeo	Jodhpur	(Early 16th c.)	<u>Bankidas R1</u> <u>Khvat</u> , p.20.	
6. Khan (Nagor) (Unidentified)	Dhan Bai D/o Rao Chandrasen	Jodhpur	(late 16th c.)	<u>Bankidas R1</u> <u>Khvat</u> , p.20. <u>Vigat</u> , V.I, p.89.	According to <u>Vigat</u> , Dhan Bai was the daughter of Mota Raja Udal Singh.

7. Khan (Nagor)	Jasoda Bai D/o Rao Maldeo S/o Rao Ram	Jodhpur	(Early 16th c.)	<u>Bankidas Ri</u> <u>Khvat</u> , p.20.
8. Khan (Nagor)	Lhan Bai D/o Rao Udal Singh	Jodhpur	(Late 16th c.)	<u>Rathora Ri</u> <u>Vanshnavali</u> , p.131.
9. Khan (Nagor) Saleh Khan	Bhaga Bai D/o Karam si of Bikaner.	Dikaner	(Early 16th c.)	<u>Bankidas Ri</u> <u>Khvat</u> , p.67; <u>Vigat</u> , V.I, p.40.
10. Ghazni Khan (Jalor)	D/o Rawal Patta of hanadh, who was widow of Rawal Maldeo of Jaisalmer.	Ranadh	(Early 16th c.)	<u>Nensi Ri Khvat</u> V.2, p.97.

Vigat = Marwar Ra Pargana Ri Vigat, Nensi Muhta

TABLE 'B'

RAJPUT - MUGHAL MATRIMONIAL ALLIANCES OF AKBAR'S REIGN (1556-1605 A.D.)

<u>S.No.</u>	<u>Bridegroom</u>	<u>Bride</u>	<u>Bride's house</u> <u>(Rajput State)</u>	<u>Year of</u> <u>Marriage</u>	<u>Sources</u>	<u>Other Information</u>
1.	Akbar	D/o Raja bharmal or bihari Mal Kachhwaha.	Amber	V.S.1618/ 1562 A.D.	<u>A.H.</u> , V.2, pp.243, 506; <u>Ain</u> , V.1, pp.320, 347; <u>T.A.</u> , V.2, p.258; <u>M.T.</u> , V.2, p.46; <u>Tuzuk</u> pp.1, 16, 17; <u>V.Vinod</u> , V.2, pp.170, 173; <u>Ibid.</u> , V.3, p.1277; <u>M.U.</u> , V.1, p.409.	Mother of Prince Salim.
2.	Akbar	(A) Raj kumar D/o Rao Manha Rathor.	Bikaner	V.S.1627/ 1570 A.D.	<u>A.H.</u> , V.2, p.518; <u>T.A.</u> , V.2, p.361; <u>Ain</u> , V.2, p.384; <u>M.T.</u> , V.2, p.137; <u>M.U.</u> , V.2, p.566; <u>Dalpat Vilas</u> , pp.14, 15.	
3.	Akbar	Ehammati D/o Lhimraj kathor	Bikaner	V.S.1627/ 1570 A.D.	<u>Dalpat Vilas</u> , pp. 14, 15.	
4.	Akbar	D/o Rawal Harraj Lhatti	Jaisalmer	V.S.1627/ 1570 A.D.	<u>A.H.</u> , V.2, p.518; <u>V.3</u> , p.283; <u>Vir</u> <u>Vinod</u> , V.2, p.174.	
5.	Akbar	(B) Lukmavati D/o Rao Valdeo kathor	Jodhpur	V.S.1627/ 1570 A.D.	<u>Bankidas</u> , p.20; <u>Vir Vinod</u> , V.2, p.174; <u>Rathora</u> <u>ki Kamshavali</u> , p.112.	

6. Akbar	D/o Nawal Askaran Sisodiya	Doongarpur	V.S. 1628/ 1578 A.D.	<u>A.N.</u> , V.3, pp. 278, 295.
7. Prince Salim	D/o Bhagwan Das Kachhwaha	Amber	V.S. 1642/ 1584 A.D.	<u>A.N.</u> , V.3, p. 678; <u>T.A.</u> , V.2, pp. 599, 621; <u>M.T.</u> , V.2, p. 352; <u>Ain</u> , V.1, pp. 323, 353; <u>M.U.</u> , V.1, p. 404; <u>Tuzuk</u> , pp. 15, 16; <u>Vir Vinod</u> , V.2, pp. 178, 1278.
8. Prince Salim	Man Bai or Jagat Gosain D/o Raja Udai Singh Rathor	Jodhpur	V.S. 1644/ 1587 A.D.	<u>Ain</u> , V.1, p. 323; <u>Tuzuk</u> , p. 19; <u>Lahora</u> , V.1, p. 16; <u>M.U.</u> , II, p. 915; <u>Rathora Ri</u> <u>Vamshavali</u> , pp. 132, 133; <u>Bankidas</u> p. 25; <u>Vir Vinod</u> , V.2, pp. 180, 311, 522, 815; <u>Vigat</u> , V.2, p. 220.
9. Prince Salim	D/o Rao Rai Singh Rathor	Bikaner	V.S. 1644/ 1587 A.D.	<u>A.N.</u> , V.3, p. 748; <u>T.A.</u> , V.2, p. 260; <u>M.T.</u> , V.2, p. 364; <u>Ain</u> , V.1, pp. 323; 384; <u>M.U.</u> , V.2, p. 568; <u>Vir Vinod</u> , V.2, pp. 178, 179.
10. Prince Salim	D/o Rao Bhim, Brother of Rao Malyan Mal Rathor.	Bikaner	-	<u>Ain</u> , V.1, p. 533 <u>Tuzuk</u> , pp. 325, 326; <u>Vir Vinod</u> , V.2, p. 1763.

Mother of Sultan-
Khusro and Sultan-
un-Nisa Begum.

11. Prince Salim	D/o Karmasi Rathor	(Before 1591 A.D.)	<u>Tuzuk</u> , pp. 19, 326; <u>Vir Vinod</u> , V.2, p.311.	Mother of Bihar Bamu Begum.
12. Prince Salim	D/o Keshav Das Rathor Merita, S/o Rao Rai Singh's brother.	(Before 1590 A.D.)	<u>Ain</u> , V.1, pp. 323, 594; <u>Vir Vinod</u> , V.2, p. 311. <u>Vikrit</u> , V.2, p.70.	
13. Prince Daniyal	D/o Rai Malik son of Rao Maldeo Rathor.	1596 A.D.	<u>Ain</u> , V.3, p.1040.	

- (A) According to Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh (V.2, p.137) & Tabqat-i-Akbari (V.2, p.361)
She was the daughter of Rao Kalyan Mal & not his brother Rao Kanha.
- (B) Barkidas Mi Khvat, p.22 mentions Rukmavati as daughter of Rao Chandra Sen.

TABLE 'C'

MATRIMONIAL ALLIANCES OF JAHANGIR'S REIGN (1605 - 1627 A.D.)

<u>S.No.</u>	<u>bridegroom</u>	<u>bride</u>	<u>Naiput State</u>	<u>Year of Marriage</u>	<u>Sources</u>
1.	Jahangir	D/o Jagat Singh and grand D/o Raja Man Singh Kachhwaha.	Amber	V.S. 1665/ 1608 A.D.	Tuzuk, pp.144, 145; <u>Wagiat</u> , p.317; <u>M.U.</u> , V.1, p.408; <u>Vir Vinod</u> , V.2, p.296; <u>Ibid.</u> , V.3, p.1287.
2.	Prince Parvez Manbhavati	D/o Raja Sur Singh Rathor.	Jodhpur	V.S. 1680/ 1623 A.D.	<u>Bankidas</u> , p.26; <u>Virat</u> , V.1, p.103; <u>Kamtha R. Virat</u> , p.586.

TABLE 'D'

MATRIMONIAL ALLIANCES OF SHAHJAHAN'S REIGN (1627 - 1658 A.D.)

<u>S.No.</u>	<u>Bridegroom</u>	<u>Bride</u>	<u>Naiput State</u>	<u>Year of Marriage</u>	<u>Sources</u>
1.	Sulaiman Shikoh S/o Prince Dara Shikoh.	D/o Rao Amar Singh Rathor	Nagor	1653 A.D.	<u>Muntakhab-ut-Lubab</u> (Urdu Trans.), V.2, p.286; <u>Vir Vinod</u> , V.2, pp.342, 343.

TABLE 'B'

MATRIMONIAL ALLIANCES OF AURANGZEB'S PERIOD

<u>S.No.</u>	<u>Bridegroom</u>	<u>Bride</u>	<u>Rajput State</u>	<u>Year of Marriage</u>	<u>Sources</u>
1.	Prince Mohd. Muazzam	D/o Man Singh Rathor	Kishangarh	1662 A.D.	<u>Vir Vinod</u> , V.2, p.443.
2.	Prince Mohd. Muazzam	D/o Raja Rup Singh Rathor	Kishangarh	1663 A.D.	<u>Maasir-i-Alamgiri</u> (Sarkar) pp.22,31, <u>M.U.</u> , V.2, p.621. <u>Vigat</u> , V.2, p.454.
3.	Prince Mohd. Azam	D/o Kirat Singh Son of Mirza Raja Jai Singh Kachhwaha	Amber	1678 A.D.	<u>Maasir-i-Alamgiri</u> , pp. 103,112. Mother of Mohd. Kazim.
4.	Prince Kambaksh	Kalyan Kumari D/o Amar Chand	Manoharpur	1681 A.D.	<u>Maasir-i-Alamgiri</u> , p. 130.

ABBREVIATIONS:

<u>A.N.</u>	=	<u>Akbarnama</u> (Eng. Trans.)	<u>Tuzuk</u>	=	<u>Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri</u> (Eng. Trans.)
<u>Ain</u>	=	<u>Ain-i-Akbari</u> (Eng. Trans.)	<u>M.U.</u>	=	<u>Maasir-ul-Umara</u> (Eng. Trans.)
<u>M.T.</u>	=	<u>Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh</u> (Eng. Trans.)	<u>Maqiat</u>	=	<u>Maqiat-i-Jahangiri</u> (Elliot & Dowson, v.7).
			<u>Vigat</u>	=	<u>Marwar Ra Pargana Ri Vigat</u> , Nensi.

THE PROCESS OF CULTURAL CONTACTS BETWEEN THE RAJPUTS AND THE MUGHALS:

The Process of cultural contacts between the Rajputs and the Mughals started with the subjugation of Rajasthan by the Mughals. The Rajput rulers not only acknowledged Mughal suzerainty but also accepted Mughal sovereignty. Being subordinate to the Mughals, the Rajput rulers also accepted the obligatory condition of regular attendance at court and to serve the Mughals.¹ They were also required to be present in the court at the time of their successions.

By joining Mughal service they entered into the category of mansabdars. Mansabdars formed the ruling group in the Mughal empire. Almost the whole nobility, the bureaucracy as well as military hierarchy, held mansabs.² The ruling chiefs of Rajasthan who entered into the Mughal service got internal autonomy of their ancestral territories, which were termed by the Mughals as Watan-jagirs; but as government officers or Mansabdars, they had to furnish contingents for the imperial army, and in lieu of such services ordinary jagir's were also assigned to them in all parts of the empire.³

1. Prov. Govt. of the Mughals, P.Saran, p.113.

2. The Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb, M.Athar Ali, p.7; The Army of the Indian Mughals - William Irvine, p.3.

3. Prov. Govt. of the Mughals, P.Saran, pp.113,130,143; The Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb, M.Athar Ali, p.13. See the list of Zamindars in Aurangzeb's service; The Agrarian System of Mughal India, Irfan Habib, pp.165,166.

Akbar incorporated the Rajputs in the Mughal service as a result of planned Imperial policy, and having implicit faith in them, appointed them as governors (subadars) of the provinces or to other higher posts, such as wiladars, fauidars, thanadars kotwals etc. This policy was continued by his successors Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb, though certain doubts are casted upon Shahjahan and particularly on Aurangzeb.

Shahjahan was a devout Muslim king who adopted a number of measures to show his orthodoxy yet his ^{design} region show a very great increase in the number of Rajput mansabdars.

Like his father Shahjahan, Aurangzeb too was a devout Muslim, who took measures in different fields according to Shariat, but as far as the question of Rajputs in the Mughal service is concerned, he made earnest efforts to win over Rajputs to his side from the time of war of Succession. In the Nishans issued to Rana Raj Singh of Mewar, he promised to

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1. The Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb, M. Athar Ali, p.15; The Rise & Fall of Mughal Empire, R.P. Tripathi, p.186.
 2. Akbarnama, V.3, pp.671,704,715,742,779; M.U., V.I, p.405, M.U., V.2, p.493.
 3. Akbarnama, V.3, p.998.
 4. M.U., V.2, pp. 578,618.
 5. The Religious Policy of the Mughals, S.R.Sharma, p.70.
 6. Ibid., pp. 83,84.
 7. Vir Vinod, V.2, pp.423,424,426,427.

restore all the territories which were annexed in 1654 A.D. as punishment for the re-fortification of Chittor, provided Rana joins him. Apart from the evidence of the said Nishans, Aurangzeb seems to have treated the Rajputs with a certain amount of consideration. The highest mansabs of 7000 zat/¹ 7000 sawar were granted to Mirza Raja Jai Singh and Maharaja Jaswant Singh while during the reign of Shahjahan not a single Rajput mansabdar got the mansab of more than 5000² zat and 5000 sawar. He also appointed Rajputs as governors,³ viceroys and also to other important posts. Therefore it seems that the Mughal rulers, who succeeded Akbar, continued the imperial policy towards Rajputs in the same way as it was laid down by Akbar.

The Rajput rulers along with their family members and clansmen attended the Mughal court after being enrolled as mansabdars and came under the direct influence of the Mughal court and the Mughal way of life. They attended the court

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1. The Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb, M. Athar Ali, p.35. See Table 2(a) & 2(b) for Rajput Mansabdars of Aurangzeb's period, Ibid., Appendix p.175; hensi, V.I, p.276.
 2. The Religious Policy of the Mughals, S.R.Sharma, p.83.
 3. Maharaja Jaswant Singh was appointed governor of Malwa in 1658 and twice governor of Gujrat from 1659-61 A.D. and 1670-72 A.D.; Mirza Raja Jai Singh was appointed viceroy of Deccan in 1665 A.D. Cf. Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb, p.23; hensi, V.I, p.276; Waqiat-i-Alamgiri (Ed. Jalal Hasan p.12 Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's reign - Yusuf Husain, pp. 53-54).

observing all the etiquettes and manners of the Mughal court. It seems that before coming to the court, they used to learn the court etiquettes e.g. Raisul Darbari¹ kept Ramdas Kachhwaha with himself and taught him the Mughal etiquettes before introducing him to the emperor. The mode of salutation under Akbar was by making kornish and taslim² and a mansabdar had to make three taslims at the time of taking leave, or making any presentation or upon receiving a mansab, a jagir or dress of honour but only one on other occasions, and obviously Rajputs observed such etiquettes. During the reign of Jahangir when prince Karan son of Rana Amar Singh came to attend Mughal court he made Sajda³, "kneeling three times and knocking his head on the ground" according to court custom.

Similarly there was a set custom to receive a firman⁴ (Emperor's order), which was to be observed by all his subordinates "when an officer received such an order he proceeds to proper distance to meet it, performs various acts of obeisance, puts it on the crown of his head, makes the Sajda and rewards the messenger."

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1. Pro.I.H.C., 1953, p.252, Cf. Ramdas Kachhwaha - S.Hasan Aksari.
 2. Ain, V.I, pp.166,167; Akbarnama, V.3, p.699; Islamic Culture, 1961, V.36, Nos. Cf. Court ceremonies of the Great Mughals, M.A.Ansari, pp. 183, 185.
 3. Purchas & his Pilgrims, V.4, p.333, account of Sir Thomas Roe.
 4. Ain, V.I, p.274.

Nobles, when at court, were duty bound to appear twice a day, in morning and evening before the emperor. Different rows were fixed for the nobles of different ranks and status and every noble had to stand at his appointed place. They were also ordered to wear certain articles according to their ranks.¹

The real object of these detailed rules and regulations of the court etiquette was to impress upon the nobles, the strength and superiority of authority.

Besides attending the court, the Rajputs also came in close contact of the Mughal way of life due to their intimate knowledge of Mughal customs. Because of being trusted by the Mughals, they had the access to the innermost parts of the palace.² The guarding of Mughal harem was assigned to the Rajputs,³ who were posted outside the female apartment but within the fort. This practice seems to be continued upto the reign of Aurangzeb.⁴ During the reign of Akbar Ramdas Kachhwaha⁵ always lived in the gulrâroom (peshkhana) and on duty there.

1. Ain, V.I, p.95.

2. Monserrate, p.203.

3. Ain, V.I, p.47; Islamic Culture 1960, V.34, No.I, Cf. The Harem of Imperial Mughals, pp. 1,3.

4. Storia Do Mogor, Mamucci, V.2, p.422; Ibid., V.I, p.207.

5. M.U., V.2, p.588; Badshahnama, V.2, p.611.

Emperor Akbar had no fixed time for entering or leaving the zanana, but hamdas was always in attendance with two hundred Rajputs carrying lances in their hands, ¹ Raisal Darbari one of the Rajputs was employed in court and was incharge of harem and was appointed as Arabegi. Being an experienced man, he was also appointed to assist prince Murad in the management of household.

During the reign of Shahjahan, ² Prithviraj Rathor was one of the bodyguards of Shahjahan. He was always in attendance on the emperor. Another Rajput Mahesh Das Rathor, ³ used to stand behind the throne by the side of a bench (pandali) which was placed at a distance of 2 yards for the royal sword and quiver.

Thus the Rajputs learnt the court traditions, etiquettes and customs of the Mughals due to their regular and constant attendance in the court. Later on they also modelled their courts in Mughal fashion to establish their own prestige over their nobles and subjects.

1. Ain, V.I, p.462; Akbarnama, V.3, p.598; Aensl, V.I, p.331; M.U., V.2, p. 564, Tuzuk, p.17.

2. M.U., V.2, p. 481.

3. badshahnama, V.2, p.635, M.U., V.2, p.34.

Apart from the direct influence of the Mughal court, the Rajputs also learnt Mughal way of life through social get together between the Rajputs and Mughals. The process of social get together particularly in the feasts, drinking parties, marriages, festivals and other such functions, started by Akbar, who treated Rajputs rulers as his relations mainly due to the establishment of matrimonial alliances. This process continued by his successors also since the process of making matrimonial alliances with the ruling houses of Rajputs continued upto Farrukh Siyar's reign.

Further the Mughal rulers were also very generous, who treated their nobles and mansabdars quite reasonably if they proved worthy of their satisfaction. The Mughal rulers rewarded them with robes of honour, flags, kettledrums, standards, jewelled daggers, guns and titles. These rewards were bestowed upon the nobles and mansabdars in appreciation of their services and to serve an incentive to the subjects to put forth their best efforts. The Rajputs keeping a substantive number among the Mughal mansabdars, were also recipients of these rewards.

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1. Akbarnama, V.2, p.496; Selected Waqia-i-or Deccan, Yusuf Husain, pp. 34,87; Dalpat Vilas, p.74.
 2. Akbarnama, V.3, p.43.
 3. Akbarnama, V.3, p. 1197; Kanshi, V.I, p.325.
 4. Akbarnama, V.2, p.534; V.3, p.1178.

These rewards except 'titles' further enriched their material^e culture and made tremendous impact on Rajput culture.

The process of Mughal Rajput contact was not limited to the Mughal rulers and Rajput chiefs only but it took in its fold the common Rajputs who formed the contingents of the Rajput chiefs. These troopers were quite large in number. According to Jahangir the Ajmer suba provided 86,000 men of¹ cavalry and 304,000 Rajput foot soldiers in the time of war. During the reign of Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb the Rajput contingent was quite enormous as testified even by the European travellers, who visited India during the Mughal period. Tavernier says, "These Rajas and the Rajputs, their subjects are the most firm supporters of the Great Mughal's kingdom and these are only idolators who are brave and distinguish themselves in the profession of arms."² Bernier remarks about Mughal's army, "under this head are comprehended Ragipous (Rajputs).....the Mogal grants large sums for the service of Ragipous, to be kept always ready and at his disposal, Ragipous are not only excellent soldiers, but some Rajas can³ in anyone day, bring more than 20 thousand to the field."

1. Iuzuk, p.341.

2. Travels in India, J.D.Tavernier, V.2, pp. 182,183.

3. Travels in the Mogul Empire - Francois Bernier, p.210.

Norris, the British ambassador to the court of Aurangzeb also noticed the military significance of Rajputs. He remarks, "It is well known that the Rajputs were a great source of great strength to the Mughal army, and commanded better pay¹ than the other soldiers."

Thus the Rajput rulers along with their Rajput troops remained constantly in touch of Mughal court and Mughal way of life throughout the period. This constant touch ultimately effected Rajput culture, consciously or unconsciously.

1. Norris Embassy - H.H.Das, p.125.

C H A P T E R I I I
L I F E O F R O Y A L T Y :
THE POSITION & POWER OF RAJPUT RULERS BEFORE
THE SUBMISSION TO THE MUGHALS

Before their submission to the Mughals, the Rajput chieftains of Rajasthan were the hereditary autonomous rulers of their states or kingdoms, who enjoyed practically sovereign powers during the Sultanate period. After the establishment¹ of Sultanate, a few Sultans compelled some of them to recognise their overlordship, and imposed on them the obligation to pay regular tribute and to render military assistance. But neither the penetration of Delhi Sultans was intensive nor they were² able to subjugate whole of Rajasthan.

By the time Akbar came to the throne, the Rajput chiefs held sway over the major portion of Rajasthan by throwing away the overlordship of central power and were acting independently as sovereign powers.

THE RAJPUT CHIEFS:

The centre of power and authority in the Rajput states, was of course the king, an absolute monarch adorned by titles which glorified his position. Like all other rulers of the

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1. Rajasthan through the Ages, D.Sharma, pp. 688-702.
 2. See Chapter II, which deals with the Rajput states, in the middle of the 16th century.

period, they were the heads of army, lords of the state treasury, the highest courts of appeal and the chief executives of the state, with powers to dismiss and to appoint any one whom they liked. The Rajput rulers inherited and derived these powers through past traditions, which were mainly based on the theory of divine origin.

(a) Theory of Divine Origin:- The Rajputs rulers seems to have claimed their divine origin, since the poets and scholars of this period have described them of divine origin; and occasionally identified them with the incarnations¹ (avtars) of Vishnu. The Siwalik Pillar Inscription of V.S. 1220/1163 A.D., identifies vigraharaja IV, as an incarnation² of Vishnu. In Prithviraja Viliya, he is called amasa (secondary incarnation) of Madhudvisa (Vishnu). The Hansi Insc³ription of V.S. 1226/1170 A.D. calls Prithviraj III as an incarnation of Rama. Similarly Kanhaddev, the ruler of Jalor is⁴ mentioned as incarnation of Krishna. The epithet diwan⁵ applied to the Mewar rulers also carries the same c^onotation.

1. Early Chauhan Dyn., D. Sharma, p.193.

2. Ibid., p. 195.

3. Line 14, "
Cf. Early Chauhan Dyn., D. Sharma, p. 193.

4. Nensi, V.I, p.14; Kanhaddevpravandh, p. 55.

5. Vir Vinod, V.I, p.143; Nensi, V.I, pp. 92,106.

Though during 16th century, the rulers of the region ceased to be described as incarnation of Rama, Vishnu or some other god, even than in practice they claimed, "the royal throne being a place of worship like an idol for the people."¹

(b) The Titles:- Upto the 15th century the dependent kings bore the title of Maharaja, the independent kings that of Maharajadhiraj and Param Bhattarika; while the emperor (a ruler who had a many subordinate kings) the title of Param² Maheswara³. The early rulers of Sakambhari held the titles of Bhupa, Nripa and Maharaja. But from the time of Prithviraja I, they styled themselves by different titles.

From 11th to 15th century the Rajput rulers bore the title of Parambhattarika Maharajadhiraj Parmeswar and Param⁴ Maheswar to signify their imperial status; while the dependent⁵ kings were given the appellations of Asvapati, Narpati; Gaipati

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1. Maharaja Kumbha, H.D.Sarda, pp. 58,59.
 2. Epi. Ind., V.6, p.4; Cf. Banswara Copper Plate of Harsha, Aihole Inscription.
 3. Early Chauhan Dyn., D. Sharma, p. 195.
 4. J.B.O.R.S., 1933, V.19, P.I & II, p.237 & J.U.P.H.S., 1936 p.16 Cf. Pali Plate of Govinda Chandra of Kannauj of V.S. 1171; J.B.O.R.S., 1916, V.I, p.IV, Cf. Manor Copper Plate of Govind Chandra of Kannauj of V.S. 1183 lines, 9,10,11. Narhar Inscription of Vigraharaja IV.
 5. Epi. Ind., V.10 p.98; Epi. Ind., V.14 p.103; I.H.J., 1933, V.9, p.121 Cf. Pratihara Administration R.S. Tripathi.



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and Trisankupati. The highest title of the rulers of Nadol and Jalor was Maharajadhiraj¹ and that of Mewar rulers Rajadhiraj² or Maharajadhiraj before 15th century. But during the 15th century they were invariably entitled as Maharajadhiraj³ Raj Ravan and Maharana. The Kirtistambha Inscription⁴ of V.S. 1517/1460 A.D. adds some interesting titles i.e. Rajguru⁵; Danguru; Shailguru and Paramguru. The rulers of Doongarpur had the title of Raj-Ravan & Maharawal and the rulers of Jodhpur, Bikaner and Jaisalmer the title of Rao⁶.

However, towards the close of 15th c. and during the 1st half of 16th century, these lofty titles were left off by the Rajput chiefs probably due to their small territories

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1. Kanhaddepravandh, pp. 157, 158, 159; Early Chauhan Dyn., D.Sharma, p.131.
 2. Vir Vinod, V.I, p.401, Document No.17; Ibid., V.II, p.55, Document No.1; I.H., 1960, V.36, No.1, p.75 Cf. An unknown Inscription of V.S. 1239 - R.C.Agrawal.
 3. Rannpur Chaumukha Temple Inscription of V.S. 1496/1439 A.D. Cf. Maharana Kumbha, H.B.Sarda, Appendix p.206; Kumbhalgarh Inscription of V.S. 1517/1460 A.D., Verse 232, Cf. Maharana Kumbha, H.B.Sarda, Appendix, p.209.
 4. Kirtistambh Inscription of V.S. 1517/1460 A.D. verse 148 Cf. Maharana Kumbha, H.B.Sarda, Appendix p. 118.
 5. Somnath temple Inscription of V.S. 1548/1491 A.D.; Doongarpur Rajva Ka Itihas, G.H.Ojha, p.73.
 6. Akbarnama, V.3, p.277; Nensi, V.I, pp.87, 183; Nensi, V.2, pp. 1, 10, 11, 19, 99; Inscription of Surajpol gate of Bikaner fort. Cf. J.A.S.B., V.16, p.279.

and their inability to form any imperial status. During this period the Rajput rulers of different states bore different titles. The rulers of Mewar assumed the titles of ¹ Rajadhiraj, Maharaja-dhiraj, Rawal Rana and Maharana, but the title of Rana was most popular, with occasionally use of the title of ² Diwan.

The rulers of Jailsalmer, Doongarpur and Banswara used the title of ³ Rawal, while the rulers of Bundi, Jodhpur, ⁴ Bikaner and Sirohi that of Rao, Maharao and Maharaja. The ⁵ rulers of Amber state kept the title of Raja and that of ⁶ Deola, the Rawat. Subsequently these titles became hereditary title of these states.

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1. Vir Vinod, V.I, p.140, Document No.20; Vir Vinod, V.II, p.55 Document No.1; Vir Vinod, V.2, pp.383,385, Onkar Nath Temples Inscription & Jagannath Puri Temple's Inscription; Nensi, V.I, pp. 5,13,15,20,21,92,106.
 2. Vir Vinod, V.I, p.143; Nensi, V.I, pp. 92,106.
 3. Akbarnama, V.3, p.277, Nensi, V.I, pp.87,183, Ibid., V.II, pp. 1,10,11,19,99,199; J.A.S.E., V.16, p.279.
 4. Akbarnama, V.2, p.358; Nensi, V.I, p.114; V.3, pp.1,19,184; Akbarnama, V.3, p.279.
 5. Akbarnama, V.2, p.242; Tabaqat, V.2, p.258, Nensi, V.I, pp. 296, 297.
 6. Nensi, V.I, p.92.

The title of the Chief queen was Raj Ragvi¹ and the sons of the rulers were usually called kunwar, yuvraj and maharajputra.²

(c) Royal Embelms:- Apart from the titles the Rajput rulers specified certain objects as the symbols or embelms of royalty. The main embelms of Rajput royalty were consisted of throne (Singhasan, or Takhat); crown (chhatra);³ fly flap (chamar) and drums. These objects could be kept and used by the rulers only and none else was allowed to use them in the state. Probably these embelms might have been used by Rajput rulers since the inception of Rajput states,⁴ on the model of king Harsha's royal embelms. These objects were used as a symbol of authority. The use of chamar (fly-flap) was due to religious belief that its wavering cast off all evil spirits hovering round the person of the ruler.

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1. J.U.P.H.S., 1936, p.16. Cf. Pali Plate of Govind Chandra Deva of Kannauj.
 2. Copper Plate Inscription of Village Manra of V.S.1565/1508 A.D., Cf. Jain Lekh Sangrah, V.I, Pooran Chand Nahar's.
 3. Achaladas Ahichi Ki Vachanika, p.20; Kanhaddeprayandh, p.86; Chhanghao Jetsi, Verses, 95,96,p.22; Raj Vallabh Mandan, Chap.5 Verses 44 Cf. Maharana Kumbha, Somani, p.155. Davaladas Ki Ahvat, V.2, pp.18,21.
 4. Harsh Charit, V.S.4grLwal, p.20.

(d) Other Rights & Obligations:- Hereditary succession in these Rajput states was practiced as general law, though the law of primogeniture was not followed always.

For the performance of different duties such as to run administration, to maintain army, to maintain their household and to spend money on cultural and religious institutions, they needed money. The rulers received a share from land produce since all land theoretically belonged to the ruler. They also levied taxes on merchandise and goods and on different objects and articles.

Beside this, being the sovereign, powers the Rajput rulers also issued their own coins in their respective states. These coins were minted by the rulers only. We find very little evidence about the coinage. It seems that only few states could afford to mint and issue the coins. However, it is certain that the rulers of Dikaner¹ and Mewar² issued coins during the reign of different rulers. The famous rulers of Mewar, who issued coins were Guhil, Hamir Singh, Kumbha, and Sanga.³ These coins were struck in gold, silver and copper.

1. Dikaner Rajya Ka Itihas, G.H.Ojha, p.38.

2. Vir Vinod, V.I, pp. 210, 211.

3. Vir Vinod, V.I, p.210; Maharana Kumbha, H.B.Sarda, pp. 187, 188.

Probably Mewar was the chief state of Rajasthan for minting the coins, and also due to its premier position in political set up; the other state might have used its coins in the circulation. Lastly due to lack of resources other states could not develop their mints. However the rulers of Rajasthan, had an inherent right of issuing their own coinage.

Thus as a whole the Rajputs chiefs or rulers were enjoying all powers such as the head of executive, legislative and judiciary. Being the supreme commander of the forces and the owner of the land of the state, they held all such powers of a sovereign.

THE POSITION AND POWER OF RAJPUT RULERS AFTER
THE SUBMISSION TO THE MUGHALS:

With the submission to the Mughals, the Rajput rulers lost their sovereign powers and position, though they retained the possession of their territories, with the powers of internal autonomy. However, being the subordinates of the Mughal¹ emperors, they were supposed to fulfil certain obligations, such as to furnish contingents to the Imperial army, to pay tribute and to serve the emperor personally.

1. Rise & Fall of Mughal Empire, R.P. Tripathi, p.224;
Prov. Govt. of the Mughals, P. Saran, pp. 111, 130.

They were also supposed to honour the prerogatives of the emperor and not to act against those prerogatives.

However, Akbar and his successors were not fully satisfied with the recognition of their overlordship by the Rajput rulers. Therefore they introduced certain new elements in the political relationship with the Rajput rulers. These elements certainly affected the power, position and prestige of the Rajput chiefs. These new elements were as follows:-

1. COMPULSORY SERVICE IN THE MUGHAL COURT:

One of the obligation of the Rajput chiefs after the acceptance of Mughal suzerainty, was to attend the court regularly and to serve the interests of the empire. Akbar was the first emperor who absorbed almost all of the Rajput chiefs in the imperial hierarchy and administrative machinery, by enrolling them as Mughal mansabdars. This policy was continued by his successors. The only exception was Rana Amar Singh of Mewar, who was exempted by Jahangir from personal attendance in the court, but was to be represented by his heir

1. Prov. Govt. of the Mughals, P.Saran, p.130; Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History, Ed. by Robert Eric Frykenburg Cf. The position of the zamindars in the Mughal empire, S.Nurul Hasan, p.19.

2. Tuzuk, V.I, p.274; Prov. Govt. under the Mughals, P.Saran p.135; History of Jahangir, Bainsi Prasad, p.221. Mewar & the Mughal Empire, G.N.Sharma, p.120.

apparent in the Mughal court. By entering into the Mughal service, they were exempted to pay any tribute and they became ¹ jagirdars holding their ancestral domains as watan-jagirs keeping their revenues for themselves, and in lieu of imperial service they were granted additional ordinary jagirs. Though it is true that on attaining high mansabs in the imperial service, the chieftains were assigned the revenues of territories (jagirs) very much larger in area than their own Watan-² jagirs, resulting in the monetary advantages. However, in political sphere the position of Rajput chiefs diminished due to the long absence from their own states and secondly by joining the Mughal service.

2. RIGHT OF SUCCESSION:

Upto the middle of ^{the} 16th century the normal practice that was followed in the states of Rajasthan in the matter of succession to the throne, was for the eldest son to succeed his father. Though, this was by no means rigidly followed as ³ a law of primogeniture. Successful diplomacy or use of force

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1. Agrarian System of Mughal India, Irfan Habib, pp.177,185, 186. The Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb, M.Athar Ali, p.79.
 2. Land Control & Social Structure in Indian History, Cf. The position of zamindars in Mughal Empire, S.Nurul Hasan, p.19. Akbernama, V.2, p.305.
 3. After the death of Rao Maldeo of Jodhpur, his younger son Chandrasen succeeded him and the claim of Ram Rai, the eldest son set aside, through a civil war. Nensi, V.I, pp. 9,73.

could secure throne for one of the sons or relation of the deceased ruler. Nomination of younger sons as heirs to the throne during their life time by rulers, setting aside the¹ claims of the eldest son were frequently made.

However, on the submission to the Mughals, the right of determining succession in the Rajput states vested in the hands of the Mughal emperors. Since there was no fixed or recognised law of succession, the Mughal emperors claimed in² theory as well as in practice, the right of full control and regulation of succession. The procedure adopted by the Mughal

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1. (a) Rana Sangram Singh conferred the jagir of Ranthambor as an independent territory to his younger son Vikramaditya in his own life time, thus deprived his eldest son Ratan Singh to succeed his full territory-Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas (MS.) f.147 (a); Nensi, V.I, p.50;
 - (b) Rana Udaï Singh, of Mewar nominated his younger son Jagmal as his successor ignoring the claims of his eldest son Pratap Singh - Nensi, V.I, p.60; Vir Vinod, V.2, p.146;
 - (c) Raja Prithviraj of Amber nominated his second son Pooran Mal as successor barring the claims of Bhimraj Nensi, V.2, p.9;
 - (d) Rao Kehar of Jaisalmer appointed his younger son Laxman, as heir to the throne instead of his eldest son Kelara - Nensi, V.2, p.320;
 - (e) Rawal Jagmal of Banswara nominated his younger son Jai Singh as his successor - Nensi, V.I, p.89; Doongarpur Ka Itihas, G.H.Ojha, p.98;
 - (f) Rao Maldeo of Jodhpur gave tika to his younger son Chandra Sen in place of Ram Rai - Nensi, V.I, p.73; Jaswant Udyot, p.66; Vir Vinod, V.2, p.813.

2. Prov. Govt. of the Mughals, P.Saran, p. 131.

emperors, was for them to summon the claimant to the throne at the Imperial Court after the death of the ruler for succession ceremony. On such occasions they usually exacted¹ homage and offerings from the new chief, formally returned to him his territory (watan-iagir), and with the title. Hereditary succession was a general law in the Mughal period; but not on the basis of law of primogeniture. Since there was no fixed or recognised law of succession, the Mughal emperors claimed in theory as well as in practice, the right of full control and regulation of succession. The view of P.Saran² that the Mughals have this right in theory and not in practice, seems quite contrary to that of the Mughal emperors authority and exercise of power in dealing with succession issues.

The Mughals generally gave tika to the eldest son of the deceased ruler, if any how the eldest son was not at good terms with the emperor, then the tika could be given to any of the younger sons of the deceased ruler by the emperor.

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1. The successors of Mewar ruler were exempted from court's presence, at the time of succession. The emperors used to send tika to Mewar through some important mansabdar of the court. The same practice continued till the reign of Aurangzeb. Tuzuk, V.2, pp. 123; Vir Vinod V.2, pp. 318, V.3, p.755.
 2. Prov. Govt. of the Mughals, P.Saran, p.131.

This meant that a chieftain depended for his position on the goodwill of the emperor rather than on his inherent rights. The Mughals asserted the principle which later came to be known as that of 'Paramountacy'.¹ This right was asserted by all the Mughal emperors from Akbar to Aurangzeb.

Akbar was the first ruler, who exercised this right after the subjugation of Rajasthan in the case of Jodhpur's succession. Firstly when he bestowed the tika of Jodhpur on Udaï Singh² the younger son of Rao Maldeo in preference of his elder brothers and secondly after the death of Udaï Singh, one of his youngest son, Sur Singh³ was selected as successor according to the wish of late ruler. In case of Bundi's succession, Akbar bestowed tika on Bhoj⁴ against the claim of Duda (elder brother) after the death of Rao Surjan Hara. However Akbar gave tika to the younger sons in above cases on the requests of the deceased rulers who made such request to

1. Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History, Cf. The position of zamindar in Mughal Empire, S. Nurul Hasan, p.20.

2. Jaswant Udyot, p.68; Vir Vinod, V.3, p.815.

3. Jaswant Udyot, p.69; Vir Vinod, V.3, p.817; Nathora Ji Vamshavali, p.214 (MS. p.138), Lankidas, p.25.

4. Nensi, V.I, p.112; Vir Vinod, V.2, p.176.

the emperor in their life time.

Jahangir specifically claimed this right on different occasions, and selected the successors of Rajput states according to his own wish rejecting all claims of the other claimants to the throne (gaddi). Jahangir's bold assertion¹ of this right was in the succession issue of Bikaner state after the death of Rao Rai Singh. Jahangir rejected the nomination of younger son (Suraj Singh) by Rai Singh of Bikaner and nominated the older one (Dulpat) instead. When Suraj Singh represented to Jahangir, "My father has made me successor and given me the tika," then Jahangir replied, "If thy father²
has given the tika to thee, we shall give it to Dulip."

Similarly on the death of Raja Man Singh of Amber, the claims of Maha Singh, the son of Man Singh's deceased eldest son, were over ruled contrary to Amber traditions and Dhao Singh,³ the younger son of Raja Man Singh was selected the ruler of Amber State. Jahangir frankly admits that according to traditions of Amber state, it should be given to Maha Singh S/o

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1. Tuzuk, V.I, pp.217,218; M.U., V.2, p.571, Vir Vinod, V.2, p.298. Probably Jahangir did so due to his unhappiness with Rao Rai Singh, who remained neutral at the time of succession trouble caused by Khusrro after Akbar's death.
 2. Tuzuk, V.I, pp. 217,218.
 3. Tuzuk, V.I, p.266; Vir Vinod, V.2, p.298; Ibid., V.3, p.1286.

late Jagat Singh S/o late Raja Man Singh.

In case of succession issue of Banswara, Jahangir exercised the right of succession to such an extent that after the death of Rawal Man Singh, of Banswara, tika was given to another Man Singh¹ (Chauhan), who belonged to different clan than that of the ruler of Banswara (Sisodiya), ignoring the basic principle of succession - i.e. succession to the sons or any other family member but within the family.

Shahjahan also exercised this right when he gave tika² to Sabal Singh after the death of Rawal Manohardas of Jaisalmer, against the wishes of the queens and nobles of the deceased ruler, who died issueless. Sabal Singh Bhati was chosen against Ramchandra Singh Bhati because of his closeness to the emperor and on the recommendation of Rup Singh Bharmalot, a loyal servant of the court. Similarly the claim of Jaswant³ Singh younger son of Raja Gaj Singh of Jodhpur, was upheld in preference to that of his elder brother Amar Singh on the ground that he was the son of the favourite wife of the late Raja.

1. Nensi, V.I, pp. 76,77.

2. Nensi, V.2, pp. 104,105.

3. Jaswant Udyot, p.72; Bankidas, p.29. Tiwari Purohit Ji ki Khvat, p.1; Vir Vinod, V.3, p.829.

Aurangzeb also selected Indar Singh S/o Amar Singh¹ Rathor of Nagaur, to succeed Maharaja Jaswant Singh on Jodhpur's throne (gaddi), on the pretext² that the sons of Jaswant Singh were infants. But the main reason seems to be emperor's dislike for Jaswant Singh, and his desire to keep Jodhpur³ under his possession.

The assertion of this right^{by} of the emperor to decide as to who would be the ruler of a principality, not only strengthened the control of the central government over the Rajput chieftains but also placed them under a personal sense of obligation to the emperor. Further with the Mughal right of succession the position of Rajput chiefs was deteriorated to a great extent.

The Rajput pride was also effected later on during the reign of Aurangzeb; when he made certain procedural changes. Formerly it had been the practice of the emperors to apply a

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1. Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p.109, Vir Vinod, V.3, p.828, Ajitodaya canto 9 verses 1-7.
 2. According to Ajitodaya Canto 7 verses 80-81. Aurangzeb granted Jodhpur to Indra Singh because he had promised to destroy temples and to accept Islam. This plea seems to be baseless in the absence of such evidence in any other sources.
 3. Vir Vinod, V.3, pp. 828, 829; Ajitodaya, Canto 6 Verses, 61-63; Jodhpur Khvat, V.2, p.17.

spot of paint (tika) on the forehead of the successors of the Rajput chiefs, with their own fingers. Early in Aurangzeb's reign, Asad Khan, ~~their~~ prime-minister was ordered to perform this ceremony on behalf of the emperor, but in May 1679, the practice was forbidden.¹ The practice was now to make taslim to the emperor abolishing all other procedures. This procedural change further humiliated the Rajput chiefs.

RIGHT TO CONFER TITLES:

The Rajput chiefs were invariably addressed as zaminders though their formal titles remained unchanged. Zamindar in modern Indian Usage means a γ landlord, and in Mughal period zamindar really meant a vassal chief as used by contemporary authorities.²

After submission to the Mughals the titles on the Rajput chiefs were conferred by the Mughal emperors. The Rajput chiefs were not left free to use any title that they pleased. Generally the titles conferred on these rulers

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1. Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p.108; History of Aurangzeb - J.N.Sarkar V.3, pp.57,58; The Religious Policy of Mughals, S.R.Sharma, p.108.
 2. Akbarnama, V.2, p.72; V.3. p.48; Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p.256. The Agrarian System of Mughal India, Irfan Habib, p.136; The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb, M.Athar Ali, p.79; The Rajput States & E.I.C., A.C.Banerjee, p.110.

were those which had become hereditary in each state. Akbar conferred hereditary titles on the chiefs of Rajasthan such as the title of Raja¹ in the case of Amber and Bikaner; the title of Rai or Lao² in the case of Bundi, Marwar, Dikaner and Sirohi, the title of Rawal³ to the chiefs of Doongarpur, Banswara and Jaisalmer, while the title of Rana to the Mewar chief. The practice of Akbar was continued by his successors in case of the conferment of title.⁸ However, the Mughal rulers were free to give any other title to the Rajput chiefs if they liked so. Among the Jodhpur rulers Raja Udaï Singh got the title of Mota Raja, Suraj Singh of Sawai Raja; Gaj Singh of Dalthamban and Bakhat Singh of Haladhiraj⁵ as a special favour. Aurangzeb bestowed the title of Maharaja⁶ on Raja Jaswant Singh and Raja Jai Singh to dignify their positions.

The rulers of the house of Amber being very close to the Mughals got the family title of Mirza⁷ prefixed to their title

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1. Akbarnama, V.2, p.240; V.3, p.113.
 2. Akbarnama, V.2, pp. 218,305,518; V.3, p.6.
 3. Akbarnama, V.3, p. 277.
 4. Ibid., V.3, p.57.
 5. Bankidas, p.47.
 6. Maasir-i-Alamgiri, pp. 1,16,17.
 7. Before Humayun's birth, the title of Babur was Mirza, and all king's son were called Mirzas - Humayun Nama - Gulbadan Begum, p.90; According to William Hawkins, "Immirza is the title for king's brothers and children." Purchas his Pilgrims, V.3, p.29; Early Travels in India, Ed. W. Foster, p.98; Ain, V.I, p.346.

of Raja and bore the same title right from Mirza Raja¹
Mar. Singh to Mirza Raja² Jai Singh. Aurangzeb however changed
the title & bestowed the title of Sawai Raja³ to the successors
of Umadat-ul-Mulk⁴ Mirza Raja Jai Singh.

But the Mughals broke the sanctity of the titles
of Rajput chiefs, which further reduced their political posi-
tion. Firstly contrary to the Rajput tradition Akbar started
to bestow the titles of Rajput chiefs, on their sons in their
life times, i.e. the title of Raja on Bhagwandas son and heir
of Raja Bihari Mal of Amber; the title of Raj on Rai Singh
son of Rai Kalyan Mal of Likaner.

Secondly the Mughal emperors further exercised the right
of conferring the titles even on the fief-holders of the Rajput
rulers; when such fief-holders entered the imperial service.
This practice was also initiated by Akbar when he bestowed the
title of Raj⁶ on Lunkaran and Durga both of whom were the

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1. Ain, V.I, p.361; M.U., V.2, p.49.
 2. Tuzuk, V.2, p.84, V.I, p.329; M.U., V.II, p.731; Alam-girnama, (MS.) p.807.
 3. M.U., V.I, p.735.
 4. I.H.A.C., 1961, II, p.17. Jaipur Records, Sarkar Collec-
tion, pp. 258,259; Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign,
ed. Yusuf Husain, pp. 52,53.
 5. Akbarnama, V.2, pp. 244, 518.
 6. Ibid., V.3, pp. 295, 598.

fief-holders, the former of Amber and the latter of Mewar, when they joined the Imperial service. This practice certainly weakened the position of the rulers still more since these titles were often bestowed on petty Rajput jagirdars of Rajasthan. Thus the prerogative of bearing the titles by the Rajput rulers was completely shattered by the Mughals which definitely reduced their position in the eyes of masses.

This practice which was started by Akbar followed by Jahangir quite lavishly by bestowing numerous such titles on Rajput nobles who had pleased him one way or another. To cite only one example of Ramdas Kachhwaha in the 6th R.Y., he himself writes, "I bestowed on him great favours as well as the title of Raja, which he had not thought for himself." But during the period of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb such titles were bestowed very occasionally. However, this practice considerably lowered the position of Rajput chiefs.

RIGHT TO CREATE WATAN-JAGIRE:

The Mughal emperors appear to have pursued the policy of entering into direct relationship with the sons and family

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1. Tuzuk, V.I, pp.201,227,328,379 etc.; Nensi, V,I, pp.25,63, 303,319,320, Ibid., V.2, pp. 112,272.
 2. Tuzuk, V, I, pp.201,202; Nensi, V.I, p. 303.
 3. Nensi, V.I, pp. 9,73.
 4. Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p. 41.

members of the Rajput rulers as well as their vassals (thikanedars). This direct relationship further reduced the power of these chieftains, due to the emergence of a new class of Mughal allies with in the heart of Rajput states or principalities. Akbar gave half of Sirohi's territory to Jagmal¹ son of Rana Amar Singh of Mewar; the jagir of Malpura to Modho² Singh S/o Bhagwantdas Kachhwaha; the jagir of Parbatsar³ to Rupsi Bairagi; the jagir of Fatehpur to Jaimal Rupsiyot⁴ and to so many others, who entered into Mughal service.

Jahangir continued his father's policy and assigned the⁵ pargana of Barwar to Ramdas Kachhwaha; Malpura to Rewat Megh⁶ and Toda to him⁷. The same policy was continued by Shahjahan and Aurangzeb. Some of these jagirs were given on non-transferable condition and to pass on to the descendants of the actual assignee; which ultimately resulted into the formation of new Rajput principalities. The most obvious example

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1. Nensi, V.I, pp. 22,23,73.
 2. Nensi, V.I, p.299.
 3. Nensi, V.I, p.312.
 4. Ibid.
 5. Nensi, V.I, p.313.
 6. Nensi, V.I, p.63.
 7. Nensi, V.I, pp. 30,31.

of this policy may be seen in the emergence of ¹Rampura; and ²Kishangarh; ³Shahpura; ⁴Kota; ⁵Nagaur; and ⁶Banera as independent states having the direct relationship with the Mughal emperors. These newly created states were treated as equal with other Rajput states by the Mughals.

Therefore, it is evident that the Mughals followed the ⁷policy of dissensions with in the Rajput ruling houses for

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1. Kensl, V.3, pp.240,248; Vir Vinod, V.3, p.983.
 2. Vir Vinod, V.2, p.522 - Jahangir assigned the Jagir of Betholab to Kishan Singh Rathor, who founded the town of Kishangarh in 1609 A.D.; also M.U., V.I, p.829.
 3. Originally this was known as pargana of Fhulia, which was given to Sujan Singh S/o Rana Amar Singh by Shahjahan. Sujan Singh changed the name of this pargana to Shahpura, after the name of his benefactor - Imp. Gaz., V.22,p.223; M.U., V.II, p.880.
 4. Vir Vinod, V.2, p.112, M.U., V.2, pp.1-3. Emperor Shahjahan granted the pargana of Lota and Ihalavata to Mado Singh Hara S/o Rao Ratan of Bundi as watan-jagir separte from Bundi state, also Bunkidas, p.149, Vir Vinod, V.3, p.1407; Badshahnama, V.I, p.401.
 5. Vir Vinod, V.3, p.821; M.U., V.I, pp. 232,233.
 6. Banera pargana was granted to Raja Bhim Singh, step brother of Rana Jai Singh by Aurangzeb in 1681 A.D. Originally this pargana was in Chittor Sarkar Cf. Firman issued by Aurangzeb on 28th July 1681. Printed in Baneda Ka Itihas by Chitambre Proc. Rajasthan History Congress 1967, p.69. Cf. Shahpura - Baneda Mend - L.P. Mathur.
 7. J.I.H. 1952, V.30, Pt. I, p.72 Cf. Jai Jangaldhar Shah, a famous episode of Bikaner tradition and its historical interpretation, H.Goetz.; Indian Culture 1948, V.14, No.3. pp. 96,97 Cf. The Policy of Grand Mughals - Vis-a-vis the rajput states, H.Goetz.

breaking up their states and to further diminish their political powers. As a result of this policy Rampura and Shahpura were separated from Mewar; Kishangarh and Nagaur from Jodhpur; Kota from Bundi and lastly Banera from Mewar. To all the assignees of these newly created Jatan-iagirs, royal ensignias and other royal privileges like other Rajput states were granted by the Mughals. Under those circumstances, naturally those newly created chiefs became more loyal to the Mughals.

RIGHT TO COIN MONEY:

During the Mughal period the coining of money was an exclusive privilege of the Mughal emperors. We know for certain that the authority of coining money was not extended to any one of the subordinate chiefs, irrespective of their rank or status. The mints of Bikaner and Mewar were closed down and the imperial currency was put into circulation throughout the empire. ¹ Because Khutba and coins were two important prerogatives of the emperors during the medieval period.

Probably the earlier coins, issued by the Mewar rulers ceased to be in circulation and to fulfil the needs of Rajasthan Akbar ^{opened} ~~opened~~ ² four mints of copper coins at Ajmer, Alwar, Nagaur and Ranthambor.

1. Prov. Govt. of the Mughals, P.Saran, pp. 132,133.

2. Ain, I.I, pp. 32,33.

RIGHT TO ENFORCE IMPERIAL REGULATIONS:

The Mughal emperors succeeded to a great extent in compelling the autonomous chiefs to conform to Imperial regulations, specially in regard to the maintenance of law and order and the freedom of transit.¹ The chiefs were also asked to take vigorous actions against the criminals, rebels and other law breakers; even they may be their family members. When Raja Suraj Singh of Likanor arrested the retainers of his brother Dalpat, Jahangir ordered that they may be released.²

Similarly Shahjahan issued a Firman³ in 1657 A.D. to Rao Akhairaj of Sirohi, directing him to punish the thieves and robbers of his area and to handover the lost property after acquiring from such criminals to the rightful owners. Further it is mentioned in the Firman that this jagir has been assigned to the Rao from the Imperial court on the pre-condition that he will maintain law and order, and that he should check such occurrences in future.

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1. Land Control & Social Structure in Indian History, Cf. The position of zamindars in Mughal Empire, S. Nurul Hasan, p. 22.
 2. Firman No. 22 dated October 2, 1614 A.D. Cf. Descriptive list of Firmans, Manshurs and Lishans, & C., Pub. by Rajasthan Archives, Bikaner, 1962.
 3. Emperor Shahjahan's Firman of dated 23, 30 Julius 1067 A.H./ V.S. 1714/1657 A.D., Cf. Vir Vinod, V.3, p. 1104.

Even the complaints of the subjects of these Rajputs chiefs were duly acknowledged by the emperors against the harsh treatment or enhanced taxation. In V.S. 1718/¹1661 A.D. and in V.S. 1719/²1662 A.D., the Jat peasants of Pargana Merta made petitions in the Imperial court against the enhanced taxes levied by Maharaja Jaswant Singh. Their petitions were granted and Maharaja was asked to remove their grievances, to which Maharaja complied. The view that the Rajput chiefs left³ independent in the affairs of their internal administration seems to be partly incorrect.

The right of interference held by the Mughals to enforce Imperial regulations further reduced the powers of the Rajput Chiefs.

RIGHT TO DISPOSSESS FROM THE WATAN-JAGIRS:

The Mughal emperors by virtue of their sovereign power could dispossess the Rajput chiefs from their hereditary jagirs (watan-jagirs) if any one of them found disloyal to the Mughal throne.

1. Marwar ka Itihaas Pt. I, V.2, p.93.

2. Ibid., V.2, p.95.

3. The Agrarian System of Mughal India, Irfan Habib, p.186; The Prov. Govt. of the Mughals, p.130.

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Akbar dispossessed Rao Luda of Ludi due to his dis-
loyalty and placed Rao Lhoj on the throne of Ludi through
military action. Jahangir exercised this right in case of
2
Bikaner state when he removed Rao Dalpat son of Rao Lodi Singh
from Bikaner's throne and placed Rao Suraj Singh instead.
3
Shahjahan used this right in case of Mewar and confiscated
the pargana of Badnaur with a revenue of 50 lac dams; pargana
of Mandalgarh with a revenue of 45 lac dams and pargana of
Pur with a revenue of 26 lac dams as a punishment to Rana
Raj Singh who had not supplied the agreed contingent to the
Imperial army. Though it was a partly confiscation of terri-
tory, but it gives other evidence i.e. the confiscated parganas
were attached to Khalan, and were kept under the direct adminis-
tration of the emperor instead of giving them to any Rajput
chief. Aurangzeb also appointed Indar Singh as the holder
of watan-igar of Jodhpur after the death of Raja Jaswant Singh,
though it should have gone to the successors of deceased Raja.

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1. Akbarnama, V.3, p.258; M.U., V.I, p.112; Lonsi, V.I, p.408.
 2. Tuzuk, V.I, p.258; M.U., V.II, p.911; Vir Vinod, V.2, pp. 299, 489.
 3. Emperor Shahjahan's Firman dated 20th Jumadi-ul-Awwal, 26th A.Y. 1063 A.H./1652 A.D. to Rana Raj Singh of Mewar Cf. I.H.F.C. 1951, V.28, P.II, p.76, Two Firmans of Shahjahan to the ruler of Udaipur, Sh. Abdur Rashid.
 4. Naga-i-Aimer, pp. 364, 365.

The Imperial power to expell and disappoint the Rajput chiefs though seldom exercised was an important weapon for keeping them loyal and submissive.

RIGHT OF ESCHIEAT:

The Mughal emperors also had the right to claim the property of all their deceased officers.¹ The Rajput chiefs being enrolled as Mughal mansabdars were not exempted from this custom. The earliest example of escheat in case of Rajput is provided by an European traveller William Hawkins, who says, "The custom of Mughal emperor is to take possession of his nobleman's treasure when they die; and to bestow on his children² what he pleaseth; but commonly he dealth well with them....." He further says that during his visit in 1611 A.D. one of the noble Jagannath Kachhwaha died and according to the custom his property was seized by the king which was consisted of numerous jewels, 60 mds of gold along with other property. During Shahjahan's period the property of Raja Lithal Das was taken³ in escheat first and then was divided among his sons.

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1. Mughal Administration, J.N. Sarkar, p.172; The Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb, M.Ather Ali, p.63; * Travels in the Mogul Empire, Francois Bernier, pp. 211,212; Storia Do Mogor, N.Manucci, V.2, p.417.
 2. Purchas his Pilgrims, V.3, p.34; Early Travels in India, Ed. W.Foster, p.103.
 3. Badshahnama (MS.), Muhammad Waris, f. 154.

However, during the whole Mughal period we do not find much instances of escheat pertaining to Rajput chiefs. But it seems that the right of escheat remained throughout in the hands of Mughal emperors. The noteworthy example, of the assertion of this right in case of Rajput chiefs, is of Aurangzeb's reign, when Aurangzeb ordered to confiscate the entire property of deceased Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur in 1678 A.D., due to large state dues against him. While according to Rajasthan sources Aurangzeb ordered for escheat on hearing the hoarded treasury of Jaswant Singh which was reported to him of about 57 lac rupees. In this case it is not clear whether the seizure was only to recover the state dues or to enforce the right of escheat.

But it clearly shows that the Rajput chiefs were also subjected to this regulation.

RIGHT TO GRANT LEAVE FROM THE IMPERIAL COURT:

As the Rajput chiefs were taken in the Imperial service, certain regulations were imposed upon them. Being the Imperial servants their freedom was curtailed. It was obligatory on Rajput chiefs to seek prior permission from the emperor to

1. Asaa-i-Aimara, pp. 77,81,83,84.

2. Hukumat ki Bahi, pp. 160,162; Alit Vilas, p.25.

perform their personal jobs such as to visit their watan-jagirs for the sake of administration; to perform their religious and marriage celebrations, or to visit their jagirs to muster their contingents etc. On all such occasions they were supposed to take prior permission from the emperor. Those who did not seek prior permission and moved from the place of their appointment, declared as rebels and punished severely by the emperor. Akbar sent an army to punish Rao Duda of Ludi¹ who had gone to his territory without the sanction of the permission. Similarly Ulca, Mohan, Surdar and Tiluksi, all of whom were the sons of Raja Pihari Mal of Amber's brother were killed² in an encounter with Imperial force, when they left the Imperial service without prior permission. Akbar's successors strongly exercised this right till the reign of Aurangzeb. Shahjahan³ confiscated the jagir and mansab of Garibdas son of Rana Karan Singh, when he left the court without permission. Aurangzeb⁴ sent a strong force to punish Rao Karan, the ruler of Likaner, who had left Deccan during the time of war of succession amongst the sons of Shahjahan and was given pardon only when he sent his two sons to the court.

1. Albarnana, V.3, p.258.

2. Ibid., V.3, p. 478.

3. Vir Vinod, V.2, p.402.

4. M.H., V.1, pp.245,765. During his life time the throne of Likaner was given to his son Arup Singh.

Aurangzeb exercised this right to the extent that he warned Rana Raj Singh of Mewar when the latter married himself with the princess of Kishangarh state without the formal permission from the emperor. In the year 1699 A.D., Aurangzeb withhold the succession and conferment of Jagir to Rana Amar Singh II of Mewar after the death of Rana Jagat Singh when he came to know that Rana is intending to proceed to Bundi to perform some religious ceremony without his permission. At this time the Rana was reminded by the Imperial yazir about the practice of taking prior permission according to established custom.

Probably a sort of permission order or permit was issued to the person concerned from the Imperial court, to the guards of roads and watchmen to allow him safely. It seems that this practice continued throughout the period. This is evident from a permit of this nature, issued during the reign of Shahjahan. It says that "Dastak (permit) was issued through Lakshi-ul-Mulki Hakim Khushhal, to the guards of the road and

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1. Maharana Raj Singh's arzdasht to emperor Aurangzeb, Cf. Vir Vinod, V.2, p.440.
 2. A letter of yazir Asad Khan to Maharana Amar Singh II dated 29, Rabi-ul Awwal, 43 Julius 1111 A.H./V.S. 1756/25th Sept. 1699. Cf. Vir Vinod, V.3, p.737; arzdasht of Rana Amar Singh II to Emperor dated 29th Oct. 1699. Cf. Vir Vinod, V.3, p.738.

watchmen, that Ajab Singh S/o Satrasal Kachhwaha, who had been granted four months leave by the prince to perform his marriage ceremony, should not be molested, while on his way from Daulatabad¹ to Akbarabad."

Thus it seems that the Rajput chiefs were kept in control by the Mughal emperors with the infusion of above mentioned elements in the political relationship. Without these, the existence of a large number of independent principalities in the country and their political fragmentation could hardly have contributed to its progress. These elements further helped in checking the internal warfare and hostility among the Rajput chiefs, because they could not make any move without the prior sanction of the emperor. If the Rajput chiefs had any grievance about the loss of territory, the case was put forward before the emperor. Such as, at the time of tika ceremony of Nawal Sabal Singh of Jaisalmer, Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur requested emperor Shahjahan about the possession of pargana Tokaran², which was under the possession of Jaisalmer rulers, though previously it belonged to Jodhpur rulers. After enquiring the facts emperor issued a firman,

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1. Sivcha Muzur, dated 13th Rajab 1047 A.H./21 Nov.1637 A.D.
Cf. Selected Documents of Shahjahan's Reign Ed. Yusuf Husain
pp. 44-49 document no. 15.
 2. Nensi, I.2, p.105.

in the name of Maharaja Jaswant Singh to acquire the said persons. Thus the issue was peacefully settled by the emperor.

However, the main result of the above noted relationship was upon the way of life of Rajput royalty. The Rajput chiefs now tried to imitate the Mughal pattern of relationship, with that of their own nobles and to acquire affinity with the Mughal court, they modelled their courts and court customs in Mughal fashion. Thus the autocracy of the Mughal emperors exercised an indirect effect on the political organisation of Rajput states. The autocracy of the Imperial capital supplied the incentive to the Rajput chiefs to play the role of autocrat in their more limited sphere i.e. in their states (watan-jagirs).

THE RAJPUT COURTS:

The central figure of the Rajput courts was the ruler or chief of the state, who was surrounded by his feudal lords, courtiers and attendants. The feudal lords mainly composed the nobility of the Rajput rulers. Among the courtiers and attendants belonged the persons of different professions e.g. Fundits, poets, bards, musicians, physicians, astrologers and the carriers and keepers of royal emblems. These courts were traditionally modelled on the pattern of Emperor Harsha's court, with a few minor alterations.

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1. Early Chauhan Dynasties, D.Charma, p.187.
 2. Kadambari, V.S.Agrawal, pp. 23,24; Harshcharit, V.S. Agrawal, p.20.

The audience hall or the court of the rulers was known as Sabhamandan¹, which was furnished with carpets² and pillows along with the royal throne (Singhasan)³ in the rear side of the hall, where the ruler used to sit. The feudal lords, officials and courtiers used to sit on the right and left side of the throne, only the attendants remained standing either keeping the royal emblems or doing some other jobs.⁴ The hall was filled with perfumes of different varieties i.e. Kapur, Gulab, Ketaki and Champa.⁵ The entrance to the court was regulated by the Pratihara.⁶ The elevated seat of the ruler was called singhasan,⁷ takhat or Gaddi. Kanhaddev, the ruler of Jalor used Singhasan⁸ (throne), similarly the rulers of Mewars also used Singhasan⁹ (throne); Rao Jodha of Jodhpur and Rao Jetsi of Bikaner used takhat for the purpose of royal seat, which was the symbols of

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1. Kanhaddeprayandh, pp. 157-159.
 2. Nensi, V.I, p.129.
 3. Kanhaddeprayandh, p.157; Velī Krishna Jūmīnī Rī, p.65; Raivallabhmāndan Canto 8, Verses 4-8; Maharāna Kumbha, R.Somani, p.155.
 4. Kanhaddeprayandh, p.157.
 5. Kanhaddeprayandh, pp.158,159; Juraj Prakash, p.83.
 6. Early Chauhan Dyn., D.Sharma, p.127.
 7. Kanhaddeprayandh, p.86.
 8. Raivallabhmāndan, Canto 8 vv.4-8; Nensi, V.I, p.51.
 9. Chhand Rao Jetsi, p.22 V.95; Devaldas Rī Khvat, V.2, p.21; Nensi, V.3, pp. 80,81,117.

royalty. But it seems that such elevated seats were used by the powerful Rajput chiefs only while the smaller chiefs did not use any such seats. The smaller chiefs used to sit over the carpet surrounded by their feudal lords, most of whom were the family members or the members of ruler's clan. Since these fief-holders belong to the clan of the ruler, they demanded the treatment of equals, on the basis of their relationship to the ruler. This privilege of fief-holders seems to be continued upto the subjugation of Rajasthan by the Mughals and their courts obviously¹ were known as darikhanas.

After the subjugation of Rajasthan and the establishment of peace between the Rajput chiefs and Mughals, an attempt was made at harmonising their interests. The frequent visits of the Rajput chiefs to the courts and camps of Mughals, their long stays in the Mughal courts in service, started the process of cultural give and take. In this process the earliest Mughal impact seems to be on the courts of the Rajput chiefs. The Rajput chiefs assimilated only those features of the Mughal court, and introduced in their own courts, which could enhance their position vis-a-vis their fief holders on the pattern of the relationship of Mughal emperors with Rajput

1. Aensi, V.3, pp. 80,81,83; Vir Vinod, V.I, p.131.

chiefs. The contemporary paintings painted at Rajput courts throw important light about the court etiquettes.

The audience hall was now termed as Darbar, or Diwan¹ or Diwankhana in Mughal fashion, in place of Sabhamandap. Under the Mughal impact the Rajput chiefs left the practice of sitting over the carpet surrounded by their fief-holders irrespective of their big or small states. In the courts, they introduced some dignified seat like the Mughal throne. The Rajput chiefs of Mewar, Jodhpur, Bikaner, Amber and Bundi² all introduced throne or takht in their courts but continued the old practice unlike the Mughals, to allow their fief-holders to sit upon the carpet according to their respective positions in the court. Thus the leader of the clan was changed into a bureaucrat.

Further to curtail the powers of the fief-holders certain new features were introduced in nobility to regulate the court etiquette. In Mewar the nobles were divided into

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1. Devaldas Ri Khvat, V.2, p.1; Vir Vinod, V.I, pp.130, 131, V.3, p.770. Nensi, V.I, p.129; Vachanika Rathor Ratan Singh p.22. (The Mughal courts were generally known as Diwan-i-Am and Diwan-i-Khas). Proc. I.H.C. 1948 Cf. Some sidelights on the career of Raja Bishan Singh Bachhwaha of Amber, K.R. Jamungo, p.169.
 2. Vir Vinod, V.I, p.131; V.3, p.770; The Art Heritage of India, E.B. Havell, Plate 78a; Rajput Painting, N. Coomaraswamy, V.2, plate XIII b; Art & Architecture of Bikaner State, H. Goetz, p.175, Plate 85.

two categories ¹ i.e. those who sit on the right hand side of Maharana, belonged to the category of Larhi ol and were the nobles of second grade; those who sit on the left hand side belonged to the category of Lunwero ki ol and were the nobles of first grade. The seats were allotted to these nobles (sardars) by Maharana according to their seniority and status. Similarly in Jodhpur, Bikaner and Banswara the nobles were class-²ified as Tazimi or Gair-Tazimi or of Ekhari Tazimi or Dohri Tazimi.³ When the ruler rose in formal court (darbar) to receive a noble, the honour so accorded was called Tazim. If the ruler only stood once at the time of arrival, it was known as Ekhari Tazim but in Dohri-Tazim the ruler stood up twice on their arrival⁴ as well as their departure.

The classification of nobility introduced new court etiquettes and probably this was done under the Mughal impact because such classification did not exist prior to Mughal subordination. To attend the court, it was the privilege of

1. Vir Vinod, V.I, pp. 130,131.

2. bikaner Rajva Ka Itihas, G.H.Ojha, V.I, p.37; Banswara Ka Itihas, G.H.Ojha, p.214; Vir Vinod, V.3, pp.770,817,818.

3. Marwar Ka Itihas, B.N.Reu, V.2, p.632; Hauqat Bahi, No.37, p.162; Ibid., No.43, pp. 160,161.

4. Hauqat Bahi, No.37, p.162; Hauqat Bahi, No.43, pp.160,161; Marwar Ka Itihas, B.N.Reu, p.632.

the principal nobles to receive Khas-Ruqqa¹ from their ruler drafted in a special form to participate in the marriage ceremony of the royal family or to require their help in the times of crisis or to invite them for consultations on some important matters of the state. To the tazimi nobles the khas-Ruqqas were written by the private secretary of the ruler and were signed by the ruler while to Gair-tazimi nobles the minister incharge of court ceremonies wrote and signed under his own hand.

These Tazimi and Gair-Tazimi nobles had to follow certain court customs while attending the court. Among the Tazimi nobles those who were entitled for Banh-Pasaw² got a ceremonial reception. On the arrival of the noble of such distinction, the ruler stood up (tazim), the noble placed his sword in front of the ruler and touched the knee or royal garment, the ruler acknowledged the salutation by placing his hand on the nobles³ shoulder. The others were entitled for Hath Ka Kurab. Like the tazimi, nobles of Banh-Pasaw distinction they also placed

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1. Sanad Bahi, No.59, p.34, Haqiqat Register, No.64 p.130, Khas Ruqqa Parwana Bahi, No.8, p.28; Vir Vinod, V.2, p.63.
 2. Haqiqat Bahi, No.48, p.8. Marwar Ka Itihas, B.N.Reu, V.2, p.632; Vir Vinod, V.I, p.142.
 3. Haqiqat bahi, No.48, p.8. Marwar Ka Itihas, B.N. Reu, V.2, p.632. For details of the kurab of different kinds see Marwar Ka Pargana di Viseat, V.2, appendix 7 pp.484-485.

their sword in front of the ruler and touched the knee or royal garment, the ruler accepted the salutation by placing his hand on the nobles shoulder and then drew it back to his chest. However, these distinctions were given to those nobles who had rendered valuable services to the ruler.

Similarly the presents (Nazar) of Tazimi nobles were accepted by the ruler after standing while of Gair-Tazimi,¹ being seated over the throne.

In the court the betels were presented to the Tazimi nobles by the ruler himself while the Detels to the Gair-tazimi² were presented by Daroga of Tombalkhana.

Further due to the impact of Mughal court custom, Raja Sur Singh of Jodhpur introduced the custom of assigning the duty of keeping the royal sword and shield to Khichi Rajputs, who always stood behind the throne as the keeper of royal arms³ while the duty of fly-whisks was assigned to Dhandhal Rajputs. Raja Sur Singh also asked his nobles to sit in the darbar on⁴ the right and left side of the throne according to gradation

1. Vir Vinod, V.I, p.131.

2. Ibid., V.I, pp. 131, 142.

3. Vir Vinod, V.3, p.818.

4. Ibid., V.3, pp. 817, 818.

which was not prevalent earlier, there by reducing the claim of equality, put forward by these nobles being the descendants of Rao Jodha, Rao Suja or Rao Ganga or Rao Maldeo.

The Rajput chiefs seems to have organised their courts in Mughal fashion to a great extent. To regulate the court proceedings they might have appointed the officials on Mughal pattern. Even in the less influenced, state of Mewar we find the existence of an official who was known as Darogha-1-
¹Darikhana, to see the seating arrangements of the court and also to enforce court etiquettes.

The system of keeping guards over the royal palace² was also started by Rajput rulers on Mughal pattern. Prior to Mughal contacts the system of keeping the guard was prevalent and trusted Rajputs were appointed for this purpose. But with the Mughal contact the duty was assigned to the nobles or fief-holders of the state to perform this duty along with their other obligations. Now this guard was termed as Dak Chauki.³
This system was introduced by Raja Udai Singh in Jodhpur and

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1. Vir Vinod, V.I, p.131. In Amber State the official of the court was known as Darogha and his assistants were called Ohdedars - Cf. Administrative System of Jaipur State, R.N.Kasliwal, pp. 51-53.
 2. Ain, Vol. I, p.47.
 3. Administrative Report (1883), pp.607,608; Marwar and the Mughal Emperors, V.S.Lhargava, pp. 61,78.

continued throughout the period.¹ In Kewar the duties of Chauki to the fief-holders were fixed on a weekly basis,² i.e. on Sunday to Chundawats of Salumbur, Begu, and Deogarh; on Monday to Chauhans of Bedla and Kothariyaro; on Tuesday to Nonavats; on Wednesday to Rawal of Bijaliyoro and Konadhro; on Thursday to Jhalas of Sadri and Delvardha; on Friday to Anthors and on Saturday to Saktavats. It seems that the same pattern might have been introduced by other Rajput chiefs.

EMBELMS OF RAJPUT ROYALTY:

The traditional embelms of Royalty i.e. Throne (Singhasan); crown (chhatra); fly-whisks (chamar) and drums³ etc. were kept by the Rajput chiefs during the Mughal period, is evident by contemporary Rajput literature and painting. Under the Mughal impact the royal umbrella (Savaban or Abtabgir) was added in Royal embelms by the Rajput rulers. According to Ain, "The Savaban, is of an oval form a yard in length, and its handle like that of umbrella, is covered with brocade and ornamented with precious stones, one of the attendants hold

1. Marwar Ka Pargana Ki Virat, V.I, p.117.

2. Bankidas, p.100.

3. Jaswant Udyot, p.78; Bachanika Maharaj Katan Singh, p.63; Pratan Neso, p.61; Kalan Kant Ki Bat, p.25 in Hajasthan Sahitya Sangrah, V.I, Khichi Ganesh Nibabat Ro Dopahara, p.4 Hajasthan Sahitya Sangrah, V.I; Vir Vinod, V.I, p.121; V.2, p.771; Bankidas, p.101; Davaldas Ki Khvat, V.I, p.21. Vel Krishan Hukmini Ki, p.65; Surai Prakash, V.2, pp.70, 90, 135.

it to keep off the rays of sun. It is also called ftabgir.¹
 The Rajput painting depicting the court life of Rajput rulers include the use of royal umbrellas of different shape as an important symbol of royalty. In Mewar painting it is of dome ~~xxxx~~² shaped, in Jodhpur and Bikaner of betel shaped.³ But probably being the symbol of Mughal royalty the royal umbrellas were not termed as Savaban or Aftabgir by the Rajputs. These were called by Rajputs as chhayaban, chhapa, chhahangir, chhahangi, kirania⁵ and Saygir.⁶ The Mughal emperors might have permitted the Rajput chiefs to use royal umbrellas as a gesture of special favour on them. N.Mannucci the European traveller of mid. 17th century confirms this favour when he says, "among the powerful Rajas..... the first is Rana Raja (Mewar).....he moves in the shelter of an umbrella, an honour conceded to no one but the Mughal king."⁶

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1. Ain, V.I, p.53.
 2. Mewar Painting, Moti Chandra Plate II; The Art Heritage of India, E.B.Havell Pl. D.facing, p.78.
 3. The Heritage of Indian Art, V.3.Agrawal Plate 33 p.1135; Indian Miniature, Robert Seiff, Plate 55; Art & Architecture of Bikaner State, J.Goetz Plate 84.
 4. Proc. I.H.C.1948 Cf. Some sidelights on the career of Raja Bishan Singh Kachhwaha of Amber, K.R. Jamungo, p.168.
 5. Vir Vinod, V.I, p.121; V.2, p.771; Mural Prakash, V.2,p.63.
 6. Storia Do Mogor, V.2, p.433.

The keeping and carrying of the royal umbrellas, and fly-whisks etc. were entrusted to court attendants who were commonly known as ¹Khidmatgars or ²Ohdedars.

COURT CUSTOMS:

The most common custom of the Rajput courts was the presentation of the betels to the persons, attending the court, to honour them, both at the time of their arrival and departure. The betels were presented invariably in each and every Rajput court. In the state of Mewar, the ruler (Rana) offered betels to the ⁴tazimi nobles with his own hand at the time of their departure from the court while to the ⁵Gair-tazimi nobles, the Darogha-i-tambolkhana offered the betels (Bidha). The practice of presenting betels continued from the pre-Mughal period, when the nobles were asked to go on expeditions after taking the betel-leaf (Bidha).

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1. Suraj Prakash, V.2, pp. 145,181; Proc. I.H.C. 1948, Cr. Some sidelights on the career of Raja Ditchan Singh Nachhwaha of Amber, A.R. Jamungo, p.169; Vir Vinod, V.I, p.130, p.771.
 2. Administrative System of Jaipur & State, R.R.Kashwal, p.51.
 3. Akbarnama, V.3, p.6; Storia do Mozor, H.Manucci, V.I,p.63.
 4. Norris Embassy, H.H.Das, p.166; Vachhanika Rathan Ratan Singh, p.22. Mewar ka Farzana ki Virat, V.2, p.456.
 5. Bunkidas, p.100; Vir Vinod, V.I, pp.130,131,142.

The other important custom of the court was the presentation of dress of honour, swords and shields, the titles, drums and occasionally the crown and fly-whisks¹ also. These presents were made at different occasions² i.e. at the time of accession; the birth celebrations of the sons of the ruler; the marriage celebrations in the rulers family and at the time of the performance of some religious ceremonies. In Jodhpur state the robes of honour³ were classified as Hathi Siropav, Palki Siropav; Ghordha Siropav; Sada Siropav; Kanthi Dupatta Siropav; Kardha, Moti, Dusala & Jaridar Pagri Siropav and Kardha & Dushala Siropav. In Mewar state it was customary on the part of the ruler to present kettle-drums⁴ to the nobles of the first grade.

Another important court custom was the practice of paying Peshkash to the ruler by the nobles and those who wanted to see

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1. Bankidas, p.101; The Mewar ruler gave crown, fly whisks & drums to the fief-holder of Sadri, who was a Jhala Rajput & who was allowed to beat drums upto the temple of Jagganath Rayji while coming to attend the court.
 2. Davalidas, Ri Khvat, V.2, p.91; Tiwari Purohit Ri Khvat, p.42; Bankidas, pp. 29,30. Vir Vinod, V.2, p.1536. Jodhpur Haliqat Bahi, of V.S. 1820-1830, ff. 27,39,53 etc.
 3. Mewar Ka Itihas, D.N.Reu, V.2, p.633.
 4. Vir Vinod, V.I, p.142.

him in court at different occasions. In Mewar the presents¹ made at the time of accession were known as Hazrana, while at the time of marriage ceremonies or religious ceremonies were termed as Neota² and all such presents were accepted by the ruler without giving tazim. In Jodhpur, Bikaner and Banswara the presents made at the time of accession of the ruler were termed as Neota³ while those at the time of marriages of sons and daughters of the ruler as Hazrana. With Mughal impact the custom of making offerings to the ruler came to be known as Peshkash⁴; and it became obligatory on fief-holders particularly⁵. It was Raja Udai Singh of Jodhpur, who started the custom of Peshkash^{on} Mughal court pattern.

Along with the custom of Peshkash, the Rajput chiefs also introduced the custom of escheat on Mughal pattern, which⁶ was not prevalent prior to Mughal contact. According to the custom of escheat, Not only the fiefs which were only to descend in lineal succession, reverted to the crown after the death of

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1. Vir Vinod, V.I, p.133, V.2, pp.63,937; V.3, pp.730,735. Annals & Antiquities, V.I, p.184, Bankidas, p.37.
 2. Bankidas, p.98.
 3. Suraj Prakash, V.2, p.147; Havala Bahi of V.S.1906; Banswara Ka Itihas, G.H.Ojha, p.215; Bikaner Ka Itihas, G.H.Ojha, V.I, pp.36,37. Studies in Medieval Indian History, S.R.Sharma, p.199.
 4. Administrative Reports of Marwar 1833.
 5. Vir Vinod, V.I, p.131; Marwar & the Mughal Emp. V.S.Bhargava pp.60,78; Social Life in Medieval Rajasthan, G.N.Sharma, p.86.
 6. Dyn.History of Northern India, H.C.Ray, V.2, p.294.

the original assignee of the fief,¹ but also his whole movable and immovable property along with title was confiscated by the ruler. In Marwar the custom of escheat was started again by Mota Raja Udai Singh, who renewed the fief of the deceased fief-holder to the descendants only when a large sum was presented to the ruler as pashkash.² However, Raja Udai Singh's son and successor Raja Sur Singh fixed the amount of pashkash equivalent to one year's income of fief (jagir)³ to be presented to the ruler after escheat. During the reign of Raja Ajit Singh in place of pashkash a new term was coined, known as Hukomnama.⁴ It seems that with the introduction of this new custom, the Rathor ruler attempted to be to his jagirdars (fief-holders), what the emperor was to him. This custom of escheat was also in vogue at Kewar and other courts also.⁵ The introduction of this court custom seems to be the direct impact of Mughal court custom on Rajput chiefs.

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1. Annals & Antiquities, V.I, p.187.
 2. Marwar Ka Itihas, B.N.Reu, V.I, p.628; Administrative Report 1883, p.440; Marwar & the Mughals, V.S.Bhargava, pp. 60,78.
 3. Marwar Ka Itihas, B.N.Reu, V.I, p.628.
 4. Arzi Bahi No.6, p.632; Hauyat Bahi, No.13, p.464; Khasa Rucsa Bahi, No.2; Marwar Ka Itihas, B.N.Reu, V.2, p.629.
 5. Annals & Antiquities, V.I, p.187.

The Rajput chiefs also introduced another custom in their courts again under the influence of the Mughal court i.e. to make a visit to the residences of the fief-holders and officials, who in return would have to greet the ruler with some presents usually in the form of coins, precious metals and precious stones. This was known as the custom of Hichhrawal¹ or Neochhebar or sometimes Nazrana. Like the Mughal custom it also became a source of revenue to the state treasury.

COURT-CEREMONIES:

The coronation (Rajvabhishek) ceremony of the prince, who ascended to the throne as ruler was the most essential and important ceremony of the Rajput courts since their inception. It was the only ceremony which invested the ruler with regnal authority. This ceremony was continuously observed by the Rajput chiefs even during the Mughal period, though the succession (tika) ceremony was performed in the Mughal court. It was after the conferment of succession (tika) at Mughal court that the Rajput rulers performed this ceremony at their states in the usual and prescribed manner.² Before the ceremony the body of the ruler was purified with

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1. Surai Prakash, V.I, p.147; Hadiyat Bahi (V.S. 1820-1830), Davaldas Ri Khvat, V.2, p.91.
 2. Rajvabhishek Padhati, dated V.S. 1709 (S.B.L.U.No. 228) Marwar Ka Itihas, B.N. Rau, V.I, p.181.

the waters of sacred rivers and with, the holy water was sprinkled in the court and the pundits (priests) performed the ceremony by reading and chanting the scriptures from holy books. They also worshipped their weapons and horses and then gave rewards to the purohit (priest) astrologers charans, Bhats and other Brahmins. However the ceremony of giving tika (Raitilak) to the ruler was reserved in different states to the different persons. In Amber the tika was invested by the leader of ¹Mina tribe; in Bikaner the right was reserved to the ²Godera Jat chief of Sekhsar; in Jodhpur this right goes by tradition to the Thakur of Dagri, while in Mewar, ³the incising of Raitilak was reserved to the Bhil leader of Oghana, who used to cut his thumb and incises the tika with his blood on the forehead of the ruler. This practice was, however, dropped after Maharana Jagat Singh (1734-1751 A.D.). Similarly ⁴in Doongarpur state the Dalwai Bhil sept also enjoyed the same rights as the Oghana chief in Mewar.

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1. Bankidas, p.126; Annals & Antiquities, V.3, p.1429.
 2. Annals & Antiquities, V.2, p.1129.
 3. Amar Singh Abhishekh Kavya, verse 135 (MS. S.B.L.U.)
Vir Vinod, V.I, p.291; V.2, pp.937, 938; Annals and Antiquities, V.I, p.262, V.3, p.1429. India of Aurangzeb, J.N.Sarkar, p.59; Muhassat-ut-Tawarikh, f.35a.
 4. Rajputana Gazetteer, V.II, p.228.

After the coronation ceremony, the rulers also performed another ceremony known as tika-daur. According to tradition the ruler, accompanied by his nobles used to raise enemy's territory,¹ as it was thought to be a good omen for the future of the state. But it seems that during the Mughal period, the Rajput rulers discontinued this ceremony due to the control of the Mughals.² Even Rana Raj Singh of Mewar did not perform this ceremony at the time of his coronation due to the fear of Mughal emperor, though he performed all other ceremonies. With the decline of Mughal authority probably they revived this old practice and Maharaja Ajit Singh at Jodhpur performed this ceremony³ after his coronation.

Another important court ceremony, which was observed by almost all the rulers of Rajasthan was to perform weighing ceremony (Tuladan) on different occasions such as on their, as well as their sons birth anniversaries; on coronation anniversaries; on marriage celebrations and in performance of religious rites.⁴ In weighing ceremony (tuladan) the rulers or

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1. Annals & Antiquities, V.I, p.315.
 2. Vir Vinod, V.2, p.401.
 3. Annals Antiquities, V.2, p.1008.
 4. Astitodaya, Canto 5 Verse 5. Jodhpur Khvat, Pt.I, p.143; Tiwar Purohitji Ri Khvat, p.1. Doongarpur's Naulekha Beharhi's Inscription of V.S.p.1643. Cf. Doongarpur Ka Itihas, G.H.Ojha, pp.87, 88, 98. Bikaner Ka Itihas, G.H.Ojha, Pt. I, p.320; Pt. II, p.570, Marwar Ka Itihas, L.N.Reu, V.I, pp.193, 203, 204, 244. Vir Vinod, V.2, pp. 322, 323, 326, 442, 668, V.3, p.956. Bankidas, p.98; Annals & Antiquities, V.2, p.589.

their sons use to weigh themselves against gold, silver, copper, precious stones and other articles, which were to be distributed among the Brahmins, charans, Bhats and occasionally to the poor. The weighing ceremony continued throughout the Mughal period though it was started by the rulers¹ prior to the Mughal period. The Mughal emperors did not interfere in performance of this ceremony due to their secular outlook since it developed on religious background. The weighing ceremony² was not a privilege of royalty, even the nobles and officials were allowed to perform this ceremony in presence of the rulers.

Besides the weighing ceremony they also gave donations to the charans and bhats on different occasions. Among the donations Lakh Pasab and Karor Pasav³ donations could be bestowed by the Rajput rulers only. The nobles and officials could not bestow such donations as they fall under the prerogatives of the rulers; and we do not find any example when nobles were granted such permission.

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1. Gundha Inscription, V.40; Cf. Epi Indica, V.9, p.75.
Bhavnagar Inscription, V.40, Cf. Epi Indica, V.12, p.415,416.
Lumbhagarh Inscription, Cf. Maharana Kumbha, H.D.Sarda Appendix.
 2. Naismundra Inscription, Cf. Vir Vinod, V.2, p.598, Hankidas p.98.
 3. Lansi, V.I, pp.105,106,136; Hankidas, p.30. Juraj Prekash, V.2, p.9.

COURT ENTERTAINMENTS:

The entertainments played important role in the court life of Rajput rulers. After performing their duties of administration, they kept themselves busy in different amusements both at court and outside the court. During the Mughal period Rajasthan enjoyed complete peace since the internal warfare stopped among the Rajput rulers on one pretext or other with the establishment of Mughal Imperial power. Naturally during this period of peace the Rajput rulers attracted towards different modes of entertainment to pass their time. Being in close touch of Mughal court they learnt some new methods of entertainment, which they adopted in their own courts. The different means of entertainments were as follows:-

MUSIC & DANCE:

The art of music and dance was the foremost means of entertainment in the Rajput courts. The music played very important role in the court life of Rajputs from the very beginning¹. The rulers of Rajasthan were great patrons of music. Maharana Lumbha of Mewar was the commentator of Gita Govinda², a lyrical work of high orders. He also wrote many treatises on music entitled as Sangitraja Sangit Mimansa,

1. Kadambari, V.8. Agrawal, pp.20,22; Anhaddepravandh, Pt. 4, p.173.

2. Kirtistambha Prashasti, V.157; Cf. Maharana Lumbha, H.B.Sarda pp. 165, 166.

Nasikpriya, Sudhravandh. Maharaja Anup Singh of Bikaner was
a great patron of music, and patronised accomplished musicians
Dhav Bhatt the son of Sangitacharya Janardan Bhatt of Shahjahan's
court and was greatly favoured by him. It was Dhav Bhatt, who
wrote some of the famous music treatises of the period i.e. Sangit
Anupankush, Anup Sangit Vilas, Anup Sangit Ratnakar and
Nashtoddishtha-Pr. bodhak Dhruvad tika, during his stay in
Bikaner court. Maharaja Anup Singh, himself wrote two works
on music namely Sangit-Vartman and Sangitanup sag. Karim Khan
and Abdullah were famous musicians of Jaipur court during the
18th century.

But in most of the Rajput courts music was mainly an
art of recreation, and was not treated from the point of view
of an artistic approach. The professional musicians and
singers both male and female were employed in Rajput courts
as paid servants and not as artists. The Rajput painting gives
us lot of information about the profession of music and dancing
in the Rajput courts. The music and dancing was probably
favoured by the Rajput chiefs and their queens before going to
bed or during the drinking parties. One of the painting

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1. Bikaner Ka Itihas, G.H.Ojha, V.I, pp.285,286.
 2. Siyaha Huzur, dated V.S. 1827-29/ 1770-1772 A.D.
 3. Durai Prakash, V.2, pp.152-154, 188,189; Siyaha Huzur, dated V.S. 1792-95/1735-38 A.D.
 4. A Painting painted at chawand in Mewar in 1605 A.D. Cf. The Art Heritage of India, R.B.Havell, pl.78A.

depicts a prince sitting over the takhat, which had a back support and between the back of prince and the support of takhat, there is a huge pillow (masnad); two lady attendants are moving fly whisks on each sides, below a musician is sitting with a sitar, the other with cymbals and third one probably a singer, singing. The signing and dancing were formed in the Rajput courts with music. The main musical instruments of the period were Uridanva; dabh; dhaply; maira; voona; sitar; dholak; sarangi, shahnai, bheri, nishan, vansuri, and cheng.

CHESS (SATRAJ):

Among indoor games chess was known to Indians from very early period and it was known as Chaturanga. This game was played usually by two players but during Alberuni's time even four persons could play this game. This game was played in the Rajput courts by rulers, princes and princesses and nobles

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1. Abhay Vilasa, (MS.) ff.23,25,31; Sural Prakash, V.I,pp.49,53; V.2,pp.150,154; Jugal Vilas, p.25; Khichi Gangev Aiyawat no Dopahro,p.9, Cf. Rajasthan Sahitya Sangrah, V.I.; Pratap Singh Mohkem Singh Ri Vat, p.42 Cf. Rajasthan Sahitya Sangrah, V.2. Indian Miniature, Robert Reiff, Plates, I,III; Rajput Painting, B.Gray, Pl.IV; Mewar Painting, Moti Chandra, Pl.III; Indian Miniature, W.G.Archer, Pl.59. The Heritage of Indian Art, V.S.Agrawal, Plates, 21,22.
 2. Kadambari, V.S.Agrawal, no.144,297; Harshcharit, V.S. Agrawal, p.14; Things Indian, J.Crooke p.95; Islamic Culture 1956, V.30, No.1, p.4 Cf. Social & economic condition in Medieval India, Yusuf Husain Khan.
 3. Alberuni's India, T.C.Sachau, p.183.
 4. Pravandhkosha, Raj Sekhara, p.50 (Singhi Jain Granthmala).

prior to Mughal period and also continued even during the Mughal period. This game was played over a board divided into 64 square with the help of pieces representing king, wazir, elephant, horse, camel and footmen. This game also gave lessons of warfare,¹ therefore it seems that Rajput chiefs liked, this game to understand and to evolve new tactics of warfare. This game became so popular in the Rajput courts that even in marriage dowries the chess sets of gold pieces² studded with precious stones were presented to the bridegrooms.

CHAUPAR:

It was another important indoor game of the Rajput courts. The playing of Chaupar continued in Rajput courts from the time of Harsha,³ and was originated in India. It was played on a cloth-board, which had four sides jutting out on four directions from the rectangular space in the middle and had little squares in three rows on all the four sides. The game was usually played by one or two pairs of the players; each player used four pieces of the same shape but of different colours. Emperor Akbar framed special rules for this game and also

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1. Early Chauhan Dyn., D. Sharma, 48; Chauhan Gora Bidai, Hemratan, p.7. Yachanika Nathor Ratan Singh, p.46.
 2. Pastur Kamwar, Vol.25 of V.S. 1857/1800 A.D. p. 138.
 3. Kadambari, V.S.Agrawal, p.100.

evolved certain new designs.¹ The Rajput courts might have borrowed some of the designs from the Imperial court² where Rajput nobles³ played this game. The game was very popular among Rajput rulers, princes, princesses, and nobles during the Mughal period.

CARDS:

The Rajputs also played cards for recreation. It was also an old game and was in vogue in India long before the advent of Mughals. It was played with the help of 12 suits of cards and the names of all those 12 suits were known in Sanskrit during the period of Akbar.⁴ We do not know anything about the existence of this game in Rajput courts before the Mughals. It seems that this game was introduced in Rajasthan through Mughal court, since it was a favourite indoor game of the Mughals, where Rajput nobles frequently played it.⁵ When Manucci⁶ visited Mirza Raja Jai Singh's camp, he also found

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1. Akbarnama, V.2, p.534.
 2. Akbarnama, V.3, p.1178.
 3. Dalpat Viles, p.47; Hamdas Derawat Hi Akhadi Hi Vat, p.22 Cf. Rajasthan Sahitya Sangrah, V.I; Sensi, V.I, pp. 244 265, 276, V.3, p.63.
 4. Ain, V.I, pp. 318,319.
 5. Purchas His Pilgrims, V.4, p.380 Account of Sir Thomas Roe.
 6. A Pepys of Mogol India, M.Manucci, Trans. J.Irvine, p.132.

him playing cards and joined him in the game. Raja Bishan Singh Kachhwaha also took delight in playing Ganjafa, which was also¹ a play of cards. Dr. A.Coomaraswamy has discovered among² Rajput painting, the reproduction of a set of playing cards.

CHAUGAN:

Chaugan called polo these days, was an important recreation for Mughal rulers and nobles. It was a game of³ royalty and commoners could be spectators and not participants.⁴ Akbar revived this game and liked it most. All the Mughal⁵ emperors showed keen interest in the game and chaugan fields were reserved at several places. It was the usual practice that ten players participated in this game, five on each side. The game was played by players riding over the horse with the help of a chaugan stick in hand and with the ball upon the ground. This game fascinated the Rajputs who were the best riders of the horse and probably this game was introduced by⁶ them towards the close of 17th. Century in their courts under the direct impact of the Mughal court.

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1. Eroc. I.H.C. 1948, p.169. Cf. Some lights on the career of Raja Bishan Singh Kachhwaha of Amber, K.R. Janungo.
 2. Rajput Painting, A. Coomaraswamy, V.II, Plate LXXVIII A & B.
 3. Akbarnama, V.3, p. 242.
 4. Akbarnama, J.I, pp. 443,444; Ain, V.I, p.309.
 5. Ain, V.2, p.180.
 6. Arwar Na Bargaana Ki Vigat, V.I, p.111; Suraj Prakash, V.I, p.54; Vir Vinod, V.I, pp.128,132; V.2, p.956; Sivcha Huzur, V.8. 1780, p.543.

WRESTLING:

Wrestling matches (kushti) formed another means of¹ entertainment of Rajput rulers from the very beginning. The practice continued in Rajput courts during the Mughal² period. The wrestling contests at the court of Rana Amar Singh³ were very frequent. Rana Raj Singh⁴ fixed the day of Tuesday for wrestling matches. The boxers were also allowed to show their skills along with wrestlers.

⁵ During the days of Tod, it became a state concern for every prince or chief to entertain a certain number of those champions of glove. Challenges were sent by the most celebrated ones from one court to another.

ANIMALS & BIRDS FIGHTS:

Animals and birds fights were also important source of recreation of Rajput courts. This practice also continued since⁶ the time of king Harsha. The animal fights were between elephants, tigers, leopards, camels, horses, boars, bulls

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1. Kumar Pala Pratibodha, Somprabha, p.423 (G.O.S. No.XIV) Dynastic History of India, H.C. Ray, V.2, p.925.
 2. Amarsara, f. 30b.
 3. Raj Ratnakara, Canto, 8, v.26.
 4. Suraj Prakash, V.2, pp. 159,205,206.
 5. Annals & Antiquities, V.2, pp. 751,752.
 6. Kadambari, V.S. Agrawal, p.101; Harshcharit, V.S. Agrawal, p.153.

and buffaloes while bird fights were between cocks, partridges,
quails, etc.¹ Though the elephant fights were the prerogatives
of the Mughal emperors; they were also held in the court of
Mewar and Jodhpur rulers, probably due to the privilege granted
by Mughals.² Rana Raj Singh of Mewar took delight in watching
such fights. He also fixed, Sunday for elephant combats; Monday
for horse fights and ram-fights on other days. After Rana Raj
Singh the elephant fights continued in Mewar Court.³

HUNTING:

Among the outdoor pastimes, hunting was very attractive
diversion particularly for kings and princes and was regarded
as the most suitable exercise for the nobility. The rulers
kept reserve forests (ramnas)⁵ in their territories for the
purpose of hunting where poaching was not allowed. For a
successful hunt, parties of informers were sent to locate the
beast or prey, and then afterwards hunting expeditions were
organised. The pipers, the drummers, and the hunting dogs
accompanied the party. However due to Mughal impact the place

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1. Suraj Prakash, V.2, pp. 206,207,208,210.
 2. Raj Ratnakar, VV. 12,26; Amar Sur VV. 390-405; Suraj Prakash, V.2, pp. 206,207.
 3. Vir Vinod, V.I, pp. 115,128,132; V.2, p.956.
 4. Suraj Prakash, V.2, pp.208, 211, 212; Mansi, V.I, pp.105,202; Vir Vinod, V.I, p.115.
 5. Annals and Antiquities, V.2, pp. 750,751.

of sword and javellin was taken by the muskets¹ and the baits were tied to lure the lions and tigers.

Like Mughal fashion, royal ladies² also took part in the hunting expeditions along with the rulers and Bundi seems to be the earliest state to copy this practice. The use of hawks³ and tigers for hunting purposes also introduced by the Rajput chiefs in Mughal fashion.

Lastly it also seems that they had organised the hunting department on Mughal pattern and appointed officials with the titles of Mughal officials. The incharge of the royal hunt was given the title of Amir-i-Shikar, commonly known as Mir-Shikara.⁴ In the times of Maharaja Abhai Singh of Jodhpur, the office of Amir-i-Shikar⁵ came in existence. In Kotah there is also a building outside the main gate of the Fort, known as a mansion of Amir-i-Shikar.

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1. Indian Miniature, Robert Heiff, pl.61 Painting showing Raja Ummed Singh of Kota shooting tigers; Art & Architecture of Bikaner State, H.Coets pl.77. showing the use of musket by Raja Anup Singh of Bikaner.
 2. Indian Miniature, Robert Heiff, pl.10; The Heritage of Indian Art., V.S.Agrawal, pl. 28,80; Indian Miniature, W.G.Archer, pl.62.
 3. Indian Miniature, Robert Heiff pl.54. Showing Raja Dorawar Singh of Bikaner using hawks and tigers for hunting purposes; Khichi Gangev Nibawat ke Dopahara, p.3. Cf. Rajasthan Sahitya Sangrah, V.I, mentions the use of Laz, Jurra, Kuhi, Lehri, Sikra, lagadh, Chinak & Turmati as the hunting birds, to catch other birds.
 4. Khichi Gangev Nibawat ke Dopahara, p.3, Cf. Rajasthan Sahitya Sangrah, V.I.
 5. Abhaya Vilas, p. 28; Puraj Prakash, V.2, p.208.

Apart from the above kinds of recreation archery, swordsmanship, stick¹smanship, puttabazi, etc. were other amusements of the Rajput courts.

ROYAL SERAGLIO:

The Rajput rulers had a large number of women in their seraglio as wives and concubines,¹ due to the prevalence of polygamy.² The Rajput seraglio's were known as Lawla, or Janani Deori in different Rajput states. The female apartments were guarded by the women guards and eunuchs, during the Mughal period. The practice of employing eunuchs to guard the female apartments,³ seems to be taken from the Mughal courts, because before 16th century we do not find their employment in Rajput states to guard female apartments.

To administrate the affairs of the royal seraglio the eunuchs were appointed and were termed as Nazirs.⁴ This practice was adopted at least in the states of Amber, Bikaner Jodhpur and Mundi if not in others. However, almost all the states had separate departments for the administration of royal seraglio on Mughal

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1. The concubines were known as Bhavasins, Fardaytans, or algans.
 2. Vir Vinod, V.I, p.215; Banki Das, p.147; Annals & Antiquities, V.3, pp. 1373, 1430.
 3. Ain, V.I, p.47.
 4. Marwar ka Fargana ki Vint, V.2, p.463; Vir Vinod, V.2, p. 100; Bikaner ka Itihas, G.H.Ojha, V.I, p.292; Annals & Antiquities, Tod, V.3, p.1373. I.H.S. 1947, V.23. No.I, p.28 Cf. The subsidiary system in Rajputana A.C.Banerjee.

pattern keeping a large number of officials known as ¹ Mohatmin,
kondar, paswan, Huzdar and Mosals, along with slave girls
² (dasiyan) as attendants.

The frequent visits made by the wives of nobles to royal
seraglio at the time of marriage celebrations and at other occ-
³ sions were also stopped. Now no body could enter into royal
seraglio without the permission of the rulers.

The ladies of the seraglio were also allowed the use
⁴ of fly whisks and other royal embelms and all amenities were
provided to them. The queens provided betel leaves to the
wives of the nobles who visited them according to court custom. ⁵
Thus it seems that considerable freedom was granted to ~~their~~ the
ladies ⁶ by the Rajput chiefs, who also gave presents to their
servants at the time of the birth or marriage coremonies of
their sons.

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1. Murwar Ra Parsana Ri Vignat, V.2, pp.446,462,463; Vir Vinod, V.1, p.216; Bankidas, p.147; Administrative System of Jaurur State, R.R.Nashwal, pp. 51,53.
 2. Murwar Ra Parsana Ri Vignat, V.2, p.446; Mewar Painting in the 17th Century, Motichandra, plate VII; A History of Fine Art in India & Ceylon, V.A.Smith, plate 186B; The Heritage of Indian Art, V.B.Agrawal Plate 32.
 3. Vir Vinod, V.3, p.818.
 4. Mewar Painting in the 17th century, Moti Chandra, Plate VII, A History of Fine Art in India & Ceylon, V.A.Smith, Plate 186B.
 5. Bankidas, p.100.
 6. See Appendix 3, Cf. Murwar Ra Parsana Ri Vignat, V.2.

CHAPTER IV

THE RAJPUT SOCIETY

Medieval Rajasthan inherited the old institutions of Indian society in social life among which caste system (varna) was pre-dominant. The Rajputs were the true upholder of ¹Kshatriya Dharma and traditions; protector of the cows and Brahmanas; follower of the path of Veda's and the lover of sword. In Rajput society castes were further divided into several sub-castes and some professional classes also grew up into the new castes. The Rajput rulers being the upholder of Varnashram system made efforts to maintain the discipline of caste system and to preserve the old Indian social traditions. ²Maharana Jagat Singh of Mewar (1628-1652 A.D.) asserted his authority in regularising the varnas so that the distinction of the varnas could be maintained. Similarly Maharaj Ajit ³Singh (1672-1724 A.D.) of Mewar emphasised the need of the observance of the rules and regulations of varnas, and took keen interest to establish a social discipline accordingly.

1. Kanhad-de-pravandh, p.34; Parmer Vamsa Darpan, Ed.D.Sharma, pp. 5-7; Lava-Rasa, Ed. M.C.Khared, p.27; Vachanika Rathor Katan Singh, pp. 35-63.

2. Jagat Singh Kayva, (MS.), V.3, p f. 37a.

3. Ajit Charitra (MS. Verse, 20; Ajitodaya, (MS.), Canto I,V.7.

The maintenance of varnas system played an important role in the set up of social structure in each and every walk of life in medieval Rajasthan. Even in the town-planning, the different areas were assigned to different castes and communities. Maharana Kumbha's town planner and architect Handan¹ mentions in the Rajaballabha that as a matter of social principles the whole area of the town was divided into several divisions for the purpose of residences of the different communities viz. the eastern direction in the town was reserved for Brahmans and Kshatriyas, centre to vaishyas; south to Sudras, north-west to the workers belonging to different professions i.e. weavers, barbers, dyers, washermen etc., and the south-west for untouchables, prostitutes and Turks. This practice of town planning seems to be continued² throughout the medieval period and generally due to the rigidity of caste system, the people of one caste or one profession used to live in one particular area. The result of this practice was the segmentation of the society and the further development of caste barriers in social gatherings and functions.

1. Rajaballabha, Canto, IV, vv. 18-19.

2. Gunsara (MS.) ff. 52,53; Ajit Charitra, vv. 20,21; Bikaner Gazal, vv. 4,5,10,11,17,28,44.

The Mughal impact of culture on the social life of Rajasthan was basically upon the upper strata of the society, comprising of Rajput rulers and chiefs, the nobles and the officials. Obviously this process accelerated with the establishment of close contacts between the Rajput rulers and the Mughal court. Since the Rajput aristocratic class lived in the towns and cities therefore naturally the impact was felt by the urban society, while the rural society retained its old social values with regard to social manners and customs. The influence on the religious beliefs was, however, very negligible and the people of Rajasthan adhered to a great extent to the old traditions and practices.

THE RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS:

A Hindu has to pass through certain religious ceremonies from birth to death, and these were termed as Samskars (rituals).¹ According to Hindu Law sixteen principal ceremonies are prescribed for a person. Out of these sixteen ceremonies the important ones such as Jatkarma Samskar (birth ceremony), Annaprashan Samskar (food-taking ceremony), Namakaran Samskar (name giving ceremony), Chudakaran Samskar (hair cutting ceremony), Upanayan Samskar (initiation ceremony), Vivah Samskar (marriage ceremony) and Antyesthi Samskar (funeral ceremony) were invariably

1. Hindu Samskars, R.B. Pandey, pp. 78-104.

observed by all people of Rajasthan and particularly by the Rajputs, according to the age old traditions and customs. All these ceremonies were performed with the help of Brahman priests, and food and other things i.e. gold, silver, clothes, precious stones, and cows and horses were offered to them according to the status of the persons concerned. The Rajputs observed all these ceremonies with an addition of new ceremony of Khadag-Bandhai (binding of sword) and with certain new changes in the Vivah Sanskar (marriage ceremony).

CUSTOM OF KHADAG-BANDHAI:

The military character of the Rajputs gave rise to the introduction of this ceremony in the Rajput society, which developed into an established custom very quickly, and was observed like other religious ceremonies. According to this ceremony every Rajput boy was invested with a sword. The ceremony took place at the age of attainment of puberty by a Rajput boy. On the day when sword was to be invested, the

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1. Alitodaya, Canto, 5 Verse 5; Canto 31, vv.16-30. Hadiyat Bahi, Jodhpur of V.S. 1820-1830; Dastari Records, Jodhpur of V.S. 1840; Davaldas Ki Khvat, V.2, p.162; Dalpat Viles, p.14; Yachhanika Kathor Ratan Singh, p.75; Vir Vinod, V.I, pp. 133,208.
 2. The Feudal System of Rajputana, P.Saran, p.76 Cf. Indian Culture 1946, V.13; India, H.G.Rawlinson p.201; Annals & Antiquities, V.I, pp.90,91; V.2, p.672.

family priest put on a tilak over the forehead of the boy and then sword was binded to the waist of the boy. After the completion of this ceremony the Rajput boy was taught the lessons of swordmanship. Thus it was the beginning of his warrior life.

CUSTOM OF MARRIAGE (VIVAH SAMSKAR):

Marriage custom was one of the important Samskar of Medieval Rajasthan which lost its originality and sacredness. According to Hindu religion marriage was held in high esteem due to its sacredness. The marriage custom was to be observed by every member of the family, except those who took up the bow of celibacy.

The normal type of marriages were arranged and fixed by the parents of the boys and girls. There was no fixed age for marriage. However, it looks that the marriages were celebrated at very early age.

According to the custom of the marriages betrothal presents were sent to the bridegrooms house through a Brahman

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1. Maivilasa, VV. 30,46; Dhola Maru ka Laha, p.9; Chand Kunwar ki Varta, p.56. hai Prashasti, IV.2-4. History of Medieval Hindu India, C.V. Jajdya, V.2, p.189. Alberuni's India, V.2, p.154.
 2. Dalpat Vilas, p.41; Pratan Daso, p.30; Vyava bahi of V.S. 1776-1821.

by the bride's father for the final settlement of the match. The standard of betrothal presents (tika) varied according to the means and status of the bride's father, but usually coconut fruit¹ symbolised the presents. At the time of betrothal, tika was applied over the forehead of the would be bridegroom, and the date of the wedding was fixed. On the day of wedding, the party of the bridegroom reached at the house of the bride where priest performed the ceremony of Gathjoradh & Saptpadi² over the sacred fire with the recitation of religious scriptures. Sometimes the party of the bridegroom was detained for several days and feasts were provided to them. At the time of departure of bridegroom, expensive dowry³ was presented by the bride's father. Due to this custom, the birth of a female child was unwelcome event in the Rajput houses which gave rise to the practice of infanticide⁴ (killing of female infants) in Rajasthan.

Marriage with in one's own caste, was regarded as ideal throughout the period, thus a Rajput could marry his

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1. Dalpat Vilas, p.41; Pratap Rasu, p.30; Pirande Donigarari Vat, p.7. Cf. Rajasthan Sahitya Sangrah, V.2. Lala Mewari Ki Vat, p.2; Nensi, V.1, pp.73,286,345; V.2, pp.269,292, 324,333; V.3. pp. 41,42,72,104,141,165.
 2. Dalpat Vilas, pp.12,13; Veli Krishna mukmini Ki, pp.10,43. Alitodava, Canto 15 V.23; Canto 23, VV. 15-20; Jyay Bahi of V.S. 1776-1821; Vir Vinod, V.1,p.208; Dayaldas Ki Khvat, V.2, p.105; Annals & Antiquities, V.2, p.795.
 3. Dalpat Vilas, pp.12,13; Vir Vinod, V.1, p.208. Annals & Antiquities, V.2, p.742.
 4. Annals & Antiquities, V.2, pp. 740-744.

daughter with a Rajput, but he could not marry with in his own clan or sub-caste. The only restriction imposed among the Rajput marriages was that of inter clan marriages. They did not follow the Hindu law strictly because a girl who is neither a Sapinda on the mother's side nor belongs to the same family on father's side, is recommended to twice born (Kshatriya & ¹ Brahmins) for a wedlock and conjugal union. Probably the above mentioned rule was not practiced by them due to the prevalence of polygamy in Rajput society.

Apart from the normal marriages, the Rajputs also developed a new custom of ² dola marriages, which were very frequent among the Rajput rulers and other nobles. When a Rajput ruler married with the girl of some lower status Rajput or with the daughter of some chief-holder, in such cases the ruler did not go to the house of bride's father but the bride was sent to the court of the ruler, where the marriage ceremony was performed ³ at the residence of some other noble or official or at the

1. Mamu-Smriti, III,5.

2. Rathora Ki Vamshavali, p.162; Tiwari Purohit ki Ki Khyat, p.5; Sindhi Prayagdas ki Ki Khyat, p.5; Senikidas, p.42; Maharana Kumbha, H.B.Somani, p.38.

3. Rathora Ki Vamshavali, p.162. Sindhi Prayagdas ki Ki Khyat, p.5. Rajputana ki Itihas, J.S.Cahlot, V.I, p.77. Namsala, A.Forbes, V.2, p.348.

residence of the ruler.¹ This was an unusual feature which developed among the Rajputs contrary to Hindu Law, to safeguard the power and position of the Rajput rulers. Similarly if² any Rajput princess was to be married to some fief-holder, than the marriage ceremony was not performed at the residence of ruler but at the residence of some noble or official on behalf of the ruler.

But the most important feature in the Rajput marriage custom was developed during the Mughal period in the form of³ willing inter-religious marriages between Rajput princesses and the Mughal rulers and their sons, though these marriages were one sided, and were the outcome of political expediency on the part of Rajput rulers. But these inter-religious marriages were definitely against the established traditions, and opened a new chapter of Rajput-Mughal relationship.

The widow-remarriages were also not unknown in the Rajput society though they were not frequent. We find some references in the contemporary literature which prove the

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1. Sindhi Prayagdas ji Ki Khvat, p.5. Vir Vinod, V.2, p.490.
 2. Nensi, V.2, p.91.
 3. Discussed with details in Chapter II.

existence of widow remarriages;¹ during the medieval period,² though they were not favoured in the society.

PURDAH CUSTOM:

In medieval Rajasthan, perhaps the Purdah system among the Rajput women was non-existent since earlier period. We find the well established custom of Mewar state,³ where at the time of accession the chief queen took part in the accession ceremony and used to attend darbar without veil, which would not have been possible in the existence of pardah system. The Rajput painting also throw light on this custom, and also suggest the non-existence of this custom, when the women of royalty are depicted as riders of horses and taking part in the⁴ hunting expeditions along with their husbands without veils.

However, it seems that later on towards the close of⁵ 17th century, this custom was also introduced in Rajput society under the influence of Mughal court, where pardah system was

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1. Jensi, V.I, p.206; V.3, p.23. Davaldas Ri Khyat, V.2,p.24.
 2. J.I.H., 1945, V.24, p.III,p.164, Cf. Economic, Social and Religious condition in Rajasthan, A.C.Banerjee.
 3. Vir Vinod, V.2, pp. 937, 938.
 4. Indian Miniature, W.G.Archer Plate 62; Indian Miniature, Robert Reiff, Plate 10; The Heritage of Indian Art, V.S.Agrawal Plate 29; The Art Heritage of India, E.B.Havell Plate 80.
 5. Vir Vinod, V.I, pp.183,208.

strictly observed. But the system seems to be partly implemented in the Rajput ruling houses. Because in the house of Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Marwar some royal ladies used veils (pardah) while others did not. When Maharaja Jaswant Singh died twenty nine ladies performed sati custom, and eight ladies out of the total were the veiled ones.¹ This suggests the partial acceptance of this custom in the Rajput society.

JOHAR CUSTOM:

Johar is a corrupt form of Hindi term Jiv-Har literally means, 'taking one's life'. According to this custom ladies committed suicide by throwing themselves in the fire (self immolation) without waiting for the death of their husbands. This custom was performed only at such time, when the Rajput ruling houses were attacked by any non-Rajput or non-Hindu enemy, and the Rajputs were unable to defend themselves.² Then at the moment of despair, they usually resorted to the acts of setting fire to their belongings and their ladies along with

1. Vir Vinod, V.3, p.828.

2. Annals & Antiquities, V.2, pp. 744-746; Things Indian, W.Crooke p.295; Early Chauhan Dyn., D.Sharma, p.258. According to D. Sharma, the Jauhar is the corrupt form of the word yamgraha; I think this is not correct if it had been the corrupt form of Yamgrah it could not have attained sacredness in its procedure and philosophy since Yama - God is not treated sacred one in Hindu Philosophy.

children also jumped in that fire and committed suicide, so that they might not fall into the hands of their enemies. This custom of committing suicide was known as Jauhar or Saka.¹ The philosophy of this custom seems to lie in the fact of saving the chastity, honour and purity of Rajput women and children from the hands of the enemy, who belonged to different religion, and might in turn dishonour their chastity. The performance of Jauhar was a sacred rite for Rajput women. This was done by them very happily and courageously.

The performance of Jauhar had its own procedure² just like a religious one. Before performing Jauhar ceremony, the women took bath, wore new clothes and all ornaments, applied sindur (vermilion) in their forehead if they were married, and Rajal (collyrium) in the eyes. Then prayers were offered to the deities. The pyres of mango-wood or sandal-wood were made. Finally chewing the betel they mounted upon pyre along with some symbolic article of their husband's use and then the fire was lit and soon they were consumed by the fire. Thus the custom of Jauhar (self-immolation) was completed.

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1. Hamir Mahakavya, N.Suri, Trans N.J.Kirtane, Cf. I.A., 1879-V.8; p.62; History of India, Elliot & Doeson, V.2, p.605 Hodiwala's Commentary.
 2. Kanhad-de-pravandh, pp. 93,94, 211,212; Achaladas Khichi ki Vachanika, pp.38,40. Hamir Mahakavya, Canto XIII, p.62, Cf. I.A., 1879-V.8; Hamirayan, Ed. D.Sharma, p.30.
 3. Nensi, V.2, pp. 60,61; V.3, p.34.

The custom of Jauhar was prevalent in Rajput society since its inception and continued till emperor Akbar's region. However, after the establishment of Mughal suzerainty over Rajasthan and the acceptance of Mughal service by the Rajput rulers, the practice of Jauhar came to an end. Probably this custom's sudden end, came as a result of Rajput-Mughal matrimonial alliances, through which the Mughals entered into the marriage circle of Rajputs and also due to the humanitarian approach of the Mughals, who never casted their eyes to dishonour the chastity of the women's of the fallen enemy, though at several occasions they fought against Rajputs with their combined Rajput and Muslim contingents.

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1. History of India, Elliot & Dowson, V.2, p.605; Hodivala's Commentary; Hammir Mahakavya, Canto, XIII, Cf. I.A. 1879, V.8, p.62; Achaldas Khichi Ki Vachanika, pp. 38; 40; Kanhad-de-prayandh, pp. 92,93,211,214; History of India, Elliot & Dowson, V.1, p.172; V.2, p.21; V.3, pp.75,426,433, 446,491,503,615; V.4, p.83; V.5, p.101; Hensi, V.1, pp. 225,333; V.2, pp.60,61, V.3, pp. 24,34,55; Vir Vinod, V.1, p.73.
 2. Akbarnama, V.2, pp. 472,473. Tabwat, V.2, p. 346. History of India, Elliot & Lowson, V. 5; pp. 173,174; Bankidas, p. 11; Rathora Ki Vamshavali, p. 86.
 3. We do not find a single example of Jauhar's performance in Rajasthan since the Jauhar of chittor on 23rd Feb. 1568 A.D. (Akbarnama, V.2, p.472). However, on the boarder of Rajasthan, near Mathura Jauhar was performed in 1668 A.D. during the reign of Aurangzeb (Massir-i-Alamgiri, p.57).

Significantly during this period we find a Jauhar of some different type contrary to the old established custom. When Rao Sur Singh of Bikaner confiscated the Jagirs (fiefs) of Purohit Marmahesh and Barhath Chothdan, then both of them committed Jauhar¹ (self-immolation) and died, showing their resentment against the act of the ruler.

Thus the inhuman custom of Jauhar wiped away from the society of Rajasthan, with the establishment of Mughal-Rajput political contacts.

SATI CUSTOM:

Sati is an ancient institution and custom of the Indo-Aryan based upon the primitive idea² that in the shadowy life of the next world which is in a way, resembles that of the present, the dead person needs the service and companionship of his wife or wives. To fulfil this need the wife or wives of the deceased person, burnt themselves along with the corpse of their husbands. This custom of burning or self immolation came to be known as Sati. This custom of Sati continued in Medieval Rajasthan through the whole period right from king

1. Aensi, V.I, p.50; Vir Vinod, V.2, p.492.

2. Things Indian, W.Crooke, p.446; Ras Mala, A.Forbes V.2, p.435.

Harsha's period.¹ During this period the idea imbibed to the Sati custom was that of a virtuous woman earns the name of virtuous living and devotion to her husband in life and in death. We find a large number of evidences,² which prove the continuation of this custom in Rajasthan prior to the establishment of Mughal power; and also its significance as a sacred rite, to be observed in Rajput society.

During the Mughal period, the custom of Sati was practiced as a sacred custom in the Rajput society of Rajasthan, which was not only practiced by the women of Rajput caste but also by the women of other castes as observed by almost every European,³ who visited India during those days. The prevalence of the custom seems to be based on many factors viz. firstly it was based due to the noble sentiments of the women not to live⁴

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1. Kadambari, V.S. Agrawal, p.170; Harshcharit, V.S. Agrawal p.97. Studies in Indian History & Culture, U.N. Ghoshal, p.83.
 2. Kubhad-de-pravandh, p.146; Nensi, V.I, p.108; Daval das Hi Khvat, V.2, pp.16, 26, 36; Surai Prakash, V.2, p.13; Bikaner Ka Itihas, G.H. Ojha, V.I, pp.51, 54. History of Medieval India, C.V. Vaidya, V.2, p.190; A.S.I., 1906-07 pp.33, 35, 37, E.I., V.XIX. No.30, pp.64 & appendix p.9.
 3. Purchas His Pilgrims, V.4, p.443. Letter from Sir Thomas Roe from Ajmer, Jan. 1615; Early Travels in India, Ed. W. Foster, pp.219, 221; Account of Nicholas Wittington; Early Travels in India, p.323, Account of Edward Terry; Jahangir's India, Trans. Geyl & Moreland p.80; Account of Pelsaert; Travels in the Mogul Empire, Bernier p.41, 309, 310, 312, 313; Travels in India, Tavernier, V.2, pp.209, 212, 213, 220; Storia Lo Mogor, N. Manucci, V.3, pp.60, 65, 55, 156, 157; Travels, Peter J. Hundy, V.2, p.221; Travels Pietro Della Valle, V.I, p.84; The Indian Travels of Thevenot & Careri, pp.212, 225.
 4. Chirva Inscription, V.S. 1330, Cf. E.I. V.XXVII, p.285-292. Tuzuk - Rogers, V.I, p.142; History of India, Elliot & Dowson, V.6, p.317. Waqiat-i-Jahangiri; Jahangir's India, p.80; Early Travels, Foster, p.323, Edward Terry.

after one's husband's death to bear the pangs of separation;¹ secondly the women believed that they would accompany their husbands in the next world after performing this horrible but sacred rite; thirdly they preferred this rite to save themselves from the horrible conditions of widowhood and lastly the women² were forced to commit this custom under duress.³ As a result of these factors this custom became more common in the Rajput society of Medieval Rajasthan.

To give it the colour of religious sanctity and sacredness the procedure of committing Sati was established in a religious manner. The woman, who was going to perform Sati, had to take bath in the sacred water usually Ganges water; applied perfumes over her body; decked herself in choicest dress like that of a bride; wore all ornaments on her body; applied sindur (vermillion) in her ~~of~~ forehead and kajal (collyrium) in the eyes and eat betel leaves in the mouth.⁴ After making herself ready she used to

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1. Vachanika Rathor Ratan Singh, pp 287; Kanhad de pravandh, p.146; Storia Do Mogor, V.3, p.60.
 2. Alberuni's India, V.2, p.155, Akbarnama, V.3, p.594; Travels, Tavernier, V.2, p.209.
 3. Storia Do Mogor, V.3, p.65,66; Travels, Barnier, p.314. Travels, Careri, p.225, A Memoir of Central India, John Malcolm, V.2, pp. 206,207.
 4. Vachanika Rathor Ratan Singh, pp.79,80,83,99,103; Ajitodaya Canto, 5, vv. 1-9; Canto, 32, vv. 2-10, vv. 29-34; Canto Pratap Raso, p.92. Jahangir's India, p.80. Travels, Careri, p.212, Travels, Tavernier, V.2, pp. 212,213.

start from her residence to the place of performance of Sati, accompanied by family members, Brahmans and other people.

During her march, music¹ was played and sometimes the Brahmans and the bards (Bhats & Charans) recited the deeds of the earlier Satis. After reaching the place of performance, she used² to give alms to poor and Brahmans in the form of gold, silver, coins, clothes, cows, elephants, horses etc., according to her husband's status. Then finally she ascended to the funeral pyre along with the dead body of her husband, if the corpse was not available then with some article of her deceased³ husband's constant use such as pillow, turban, ring, etc. The fire was kindled and soon the process finished leaving the bones and ashes. This process was observed by all the ladies before committing Satis with slight variations if any.

However, those ladies, who were found pregnant or having the small infants at the time of their husbands death were⁴ exempted from the performance of Sati, and it was declared a sin to commit Sati in these conditions.

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1. Purchas His Pilgrims, V.4, p.172; Early Travels, Foster, p.219. Travels, Bernier, pp.309,310. Travels, Tavernier, V.2, p.220, Vir Vinod, V.2, p.267.
 2. Alitodaya, Canto 32, V. 2-10; Vir Vinod, V.2, p.267. Storia Do Mogor, V.2, p.96; Travels, Careri, p.212.
 3. Nensi, V.1, p.2, Alitodaya, Canto 32, V. 2-10; Vir Vinod, V.2, p.501; Davalidas Ki Khvat, V.2, p.143; Bankidas, pp.32,97, Travels, Peter Mundy, V.2, p.221.
 4. Nensi, V.1, p.2; Vat Deoii Bagdevatari, p.12. Cf. Rajasthan Sahitya Sangrah, V.2; Travels, Tavernier, V.2, p.210.

The Mughal emperors, from Akbar to Aurangzeb tried to abolish this¹ custom but could not do so probably due to the religious sanction of this custom. It was emperor Akbar, who took drastic step against this custom and abolished the practice of forcible performance of Sati, and appointed officials in his 28th R.Y. to check the forcible burning of the ladies in the empire. He also persuaded the lady in one case (D/o Rai² mai Singhor Bikaner) not to commit Sati on account of the tender age of her children. Akbar took keen interest in this affair due to the incident of Jaimal's death, when Jaimal's wife who was daughter of Mota Raja Udai Singh was forced to burn by his sons, who was saved by the timely action of Akbar.³ This imperial regulation continued throughout the Mughal period and the Rajputs were asked to take prior permission from the Imperial governors, if any lady wanted to commit Sati.⁴ Beside this the governors were also asked to persuade the ladies, by⁵

1. Akbarnama, V.3, p.594.

2. Ibid., V.3, p.985; Bikaner Na Itihās, G.H.Ojha, V.I, p.182.

3. Akbarnama, V.3, p.594.

4. Early Travels, Foster, pp. 219,220; Purchas His Pilgrims, V.3, p.50; Travels, Bernier, pp. 306,307. Travels, Tavernier, V.2, pp. 210,221,222; Travel, Pietro, L.V., V.I, p.85; Travel, F.Mundy V.2, pp.34,35. Maddleslo's Travel, Commissariat, pp. 43,44.

5. Purchas His Pilgrims, V.3, p.50; ~~xx~~ Travels; Bernier, pp.307,308.

offering them different temptations, not to commit sati. But such officials, to check the sati custom were not appointed in Rajasthan, due to the internal autonomy of the Rajput rulers in their respective states.

The Mughal emperor's efforts to check and abolish this custom got dividends particularly in some of the ruling families of Rajasthan among whom the Amber house was most influenced as is evident by the performance of sati custom in a very less number compared to other ruling families. But in other ruling families the prevalence of this custom was quite higher during this period, in comparison to the earlier period. Probably due to the increase of Polygamy. At the time of Maharana Amar Singh of Mewar's death, twenty seven ladies performed Sati, i.e. ten wives, Nine concubines and

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1. Travels Travel, bernier, p.307.
 2. Vir Vinod, V.3, p.1283, Kachhwaha Vamshavali, p.61. At the death of Raja Man Singh only four of his wives performed Sati; Tuzuk, V.2, pp. 218,219, Nensi, V.I, pp.298,299 - After the death of Raja Bhao Singh two wives and eight concubines performed Sati; Nensi, V.I, p.297. after the death of Raja Maha Singh only one wife committed Sati; Vir Vinod, V.3, p. 1295 - After the death of Raja Jai Singh, one wife, 2 concubines, 2 slave girls committed Sati.
 3. Tiwari Purahit Ki Khvat, p.19; Bindhi Prayagdas Ji Ki Khvat p.6; Bankidas, pp.18,20,22,28,33,35,72,97,125,146,156, Rathora Ki Vamshavali, pp. 123,124,148,156; Vir Vinod, V.2, pp.842,181, V.3,828,1416.
 4. Vir Vinod, V.2, p. 267.

eight slave girls. Similarly at the time of death of Rao Kalyan Mal of Bikaner twenty eight ¹ ladies; at Rai Singh's death, ² six ladies; at Suraj Singh's death four ladies, ³ at Karan Singh's death eighteen ladies ⁴ committed Sati. In other ruling families also the same type of sati performances occurred.

During this period another unusual feature developed in the Sati custom i.e. ⁵ the addition of male and female slaves and eunuchs (Nazirs) in performing Sati along with the wives and the concubines, resulting in the large number of self immolations.

FOOD:

During the medioval period, the people of Rajasthan used both vegetarian and non-vegetarian food which they inherited from earlier period. During the period of Marsha ⁶ wheaten cakes, parched grain, sugar, ghi and preparation of

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1. Nensi, V.3, p.209.
 2. Nensi, V.3, p.210; Navaldas Ri Khvat, V.2, p.139.
 3. Nensi, V.3, p.210.
 4. Nensi, V.3, pp. 210,211.
 5. Nensi, V.3, pp. 208-211; Vir Vinod, V.2, pp. 267,842; Rathora Ri Vamshavali, p.134; Ras Mala, A.Forbes, V.2, p.236.
 6. India, H.G.Rawlison, p.116; Medieval India, A.Yusuf Ali p.21.

milk were used as staple diet by the people and occasionally the non-vegetarian dishes of fish and mutton were used by them; while beef and flesh of certain wild animals were prohibited. The food habits of Harsha's period seems to be continued in Rajasthan because wheat, rice, pulses, barley millet, oil, ghee, spices and meat are among the articles of food mentioned in ¹Chauhan Inscriptions. Among Hindu population the Rajputs continued to be meat eaters since they liked chaso and hunting of wild animals. ²Kanhaddepravandh provides us a list of cooked and prepared food served to a ruler of Rajasthan during the ³14th century. This food consisted of seva (a thread like preparation from refined wheat flour), Suhali (cake of wheat flour fried in ghoe or oil and coated with sugar); Ladu (a sweet meat prepared with the flour of rice or wheat with sugar); Mandu (bread prepared from wheat flour mixed with salt); Pappad (a fried thin cake of pulses flour mixed with spices and salt); Salana (curry); Badi (flour of pulses mixed with salt & spices) and Lanchdhara; Mapsi, Kansar, Dahi (curd), all preparation of vegetarian food. The dishes of non-vegetarian food seems to be omitted by the writer, who might have been a vegetarian.

1. Early Chauhan Dyn., D.Sharma, p.265.

2. Nensi, V.I, pp.2,202,206; V.2, pp. 225,331.

3. Kanhad de-pravandh, pp. 173,174.

The non vegetarian and vegetarian preparations of food¹ are mentioned in the literature of the period. The vegetarian diet was mainly formed of cakes of the flour of different grains i.e. wheat, barley, millet and rice, the vegetables of different types, milk products in the form of cheese, butter, ghose and curd, sugar preparations mixed with different flours and prepared by different techniques and the fruits of the season.² The non-vegetarian food was consisted of the flesh of goat, wild boar, birds, fish etc. but the beef was totally prohibited.³ The food preparations were known by different names i.e. Sire, Sengati, Magai, Purivan, Mugray, Jalebi, Dal, Roti, Ladva, tarkari, panardh, churma, khir, sikarna, puva, lapsi, guzi, raba, ghata, khichari etc. The menu of the diet depended upon the status and resources of the person.

The masses were generally accustomed to the vegetarian food and khichari⁴ (pulses mixed with rice) was the main diet of

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1. Rathore Ki Vamsnavali, p.38; Dalpat Vilas, pp.66,88,89; Padmini Charitra Chopai, p.55; Nensi, V.2, p.333, V.3, pp. 5,6; Harwar Ra Pergana Ki Vistat, V.1, p.33.
 2. Khichi Ganey Kiwabat Lo Lonaharo, p.13 Cf. Raj.Sahitya Sangraha; Rathore Ki Vamsnavali pp.38,143; Nensi, V.2, p.333. Ibid., V.3, pp.125,254; Vir Vinod, V.1, p.117.
 3. Jodhpur Hasiyat Bahi (V.S.1820-1830); Rathore Ki Vamsnavali, pp.38,65; Dalpat Vilas, pp.88,89; Navala Bahi, (V.S. 1832) & (V.S.1827); Abhaya Vilas, f.21; Nensi, V.3, pp.5,6,125; Padmini Charitra Chopai, p.55.
 4. Nensi, V.2, p.251; Rajprashasti, Canto 3, V.17; Jodhpur Bahi (V.S.1831); Tuzuk, Roger, V.1, p.419; Jahangir's India, p.61; Purchas His Pilgrims, V.9, p.17. Travel, Bernier, pp.152,335, 381; Travel, Tavernier, V.2, p.248. Travel, Fryer, V.2, p.119.

the common men, along with other preparations of cake, pulses and milk products. The Rajputs were generally non-vegetarians and eat the flesh of wild animals like boar & deer and goat¹ among the domesticated animals. The European travellers of the period verify the non-vegetarian habits of the Rajputs, those serving the Mughals.

With Mughal contacts the Rajputs introduced certain² Mughal dishes in their food menus i.e. Babar-Bari, Pulao, qabuli, murrebba, Khurasani-khichri, duppala, biryani, kalivan, chakhtala, akhani, Rozni, Jeri, etc. which further enriched their menus and also effected their food habits. But this impact of the Mughals seems to be on the food habits of Rajput royalty and the masses retained their old diets and dishes.

³ The use of betel leaves after the food was also prevalent in the Rajput society; but that too among the upper strata.

MANNER OF TAKING THE FOOD:

⁴ Before eating the people washed their hands. They use to take food while sitting on the ground on a piece of fine

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1. Purchas His Pilgrims, V.4, p.171; Early Travels, Foster pp.218,281,324. Traval, Tavernier, V.2, p.184.
 2. Suraj Prakash, V.2, pp.217,218; Abhaya Vilas, rr.16,306, Raj Vilasa, Canto 8 V.95; Khichi Gangev Niwabat Ro Dopaharo, p.13 Cf. Rajasthan Sahitya Sangrah, V.I.
 3. Nensi, V.I, p.12; Suraj Prakash, V.2, p.219; Ajitodaya, Canto, 19, V.47; Tiwari Purohit Ri Khvat, p.45.
 4. Jahangir's India, pp. 68,76. Ajitodaya, Canto, 19, V.47.

cloth. The house or the place of dinning was rubbed with cow-
dung¹ usually which dried before the sitting. Those places of
dinning, constructed of burnt bricks or stone were washed with
water. The inter-caste dinning was not prevelent² and generally
the people dine in their respective castes.

The observation of Jahangir³ also throws light on the
Rajput manner of taking food. ".....at this time Raja Girdhar
with a body of Rajputs and his caste people according to the
custom of Hindus were sitting bare bodied and eating their food."

USE OF INTOXICANTS:

The use of intoxicants in Rajasthan continued from
early medieval period when the Rajputs were known Madhupayina⁴
(drinkers of wine). During the medieval period the intoxicants
were not only used by the Rajputs⁵ but by the people of other
castes also. The main intoxicants prevelent⁶ in the Rajput society

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1. Alberuni's India, p.180. Storia De Mogor, V.3, p.42. Hauqlat
Lahi, V.S. 1831.
 2. Travels, Pietro D.V., V.I, p.81. Travel, Tavernier, V.2, p.181.
 3. Tuzuk, V.2, p.283.
 4. Jodhpur Inscription of Pratihara Banka dated V.S.894, VV.7-8
Cf. E.I. Vol. XVIII, p.95; Hammira Mahakavya, p.71, Cf. I.A.
Vol.VIII; Prithviraj Vilaya, Jayanka, I, 1-27; IK, 20 Cf.
Early Chauhan Dyn., D.Sharma, p.265.
 5. Nensi, V.I, pp.13, 97, 134; Vir Vinod, V.I, pp.193, 194; Annals
& Antiquities, V.I, pp. 82, 87.
 6. Nensi, V.I, p.184; Khichi Gangey Niwavat Ho Donaharo, pp.88,
Cf. Rajasthan Sahitya Sangraha, V.I, Rajputana ka Itihas
J.S.Gahlot, V.I, p.81.

were wine (arag), opium (amal) bhang and tabacco. In times of peace, when there was no fighting to be done, the Rajput lead an indolent and ^{monotonous} ~~motenous~~ life. To break the monotony he spent¹ his time either in chase and hunting or in the exercise of arms and in between, he entertained himself with dancing girls sitting with his fellow men, eating opium (amal) or drinking opium water (kusumbho) or wine (arag) or taking bhang or smoking tabacco.

The addiction of the ruling class to the habit was such that wine drinking and opium eating came to be regarded as symbols of aristocracy.² Rao Satta, Rao Ganga, Rao Rammal and Maharaja Abhai Singh of Marwar were the famous wine drinkers and opium eaters of their times.³ The habit of wine drinking ruined the house of Amber to the extent that Raja Man Singh had two or three sons from each wife, but all except Bhao Singh died during their father's life time and Bhao Singh too died⁴ soon after his father's death due to excessive drinking, Jagat

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1. Suraj Prakash, V.2, pp.215,216; Vir Vinod, V.I, p.188; History of Rajputana, J.S.Gahlot, V.I, p.102; Ras Mala, A.Forbes, V.2, p.235; India, H.G. Rawlinson, p.210x 201.
 2. Suraj Prakash, V.I, p.84.
 3. Rathora Rī Vamshavalī, p.63; Dalpat Vilas, p.65; Bankidas, pp.6,41; Biramde Sonagarari Rī Vat, p.72; Marwar Ka Itihas, B.N.Reu, V.I, p.115.
 4. M.U., V.I, pp.66,725; Raja Man Singh, R.N.Prasad, p.132.

Singh and Maha Singh were other important casualties¹ of the house. Bhopat the son of Rao Rai Singh of Bikaner developed the habit of wine drinking² at very tender age. The practice of having joint drinking parties by the Rajputs were also common, Akbar also took part in one of such drinking party and could hardly be saved by Raja Man Singh from an act of madness³ under the influence of liquor.

Not only wine and opium but bhang was also consumed by the Rajputs at different occasions. During the reign of Akbar, Raja Bhagwandas Kachhwaha⁴ of Amber pleaded guilty to the emperor and begged for mercy, on behalf of his brother Rupsi, who had been guilty of serious misdeeds under the influence of bhang. This drug was also used by Brahmins, though they abstained from both wine and opium.

In the use of wine, opium, bhang and tobacco, the Bhattis⁵ of Jaisalmer, the Rathors of Bikaner⁶ and Kishangarh⁷ and the

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1. Tuzuk, V.I, p.377; M.U., V.I, p.725; Vir Vinod, V.2,p.305.
 2. Dalpat Vilas, pp. 33,34.
 3. Akbarnama, V.3, p.43.
 4. Ibid., V.3, p.70.
 5. Annals & Antiquities, V.2, p.1254.
 6. Ibid., V.2, p. 1149; Bankidas, p.41.
 7. Bankidas, p.83.

Chauhans of Bundi and Kota did not lag behind their Rajput brethern. The only ruling house of Rajasthan which remained free from the clutches of the intoxicants was that of Mewar, but there too Amar Singh II² was addicted to excessive drinking and introduced the practice in the royal family, where the nobles and other castes were already in the habit of taking the different³ intoxicants.

Lastly these intoxicants were not only used by men but also prevalent among the women. Reference to the requirement that widows should live an austere life renouncing the consumption of flesh and wine, suggest that they were not unfamiliar with the taste of intoxicants. Rana Amar Singh II⁵ of Mewar developed a taste for wine from his queen Bhatiyarni, grand daughter of Nawal Sabal Singh of Jaisalmer. Paintings of the period also confirms, the prevalence of drug addition among ladies. One such painting of the reign of Maharaja Karan Singh⁶ of Bikaner depicts a lady in a pleasure garden drinking wine.

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1. Nensi, V.I, p.102; Bankidas, p. 149.
 2. Vir Vinod, V.I, p.188; V.2, p.789.
 3. Vir Vinod, V.I, p.322; Annals & Antiquities, V.I,p.327.
 4. Ibid., V.I, p.207.
 5. Vir Vinod, V.I, p.673.
 6. Art & Architecture of Bikaner State, H.Goetz, pl.83,p.174.

The Jaipur¹ school of painting also depicts a scene of similar type. Further these painting also depict scenes of tobacco² smoking by ladies.

The long usage of the intoxicants gave them a place in the Rajput society and their use became customary on various social occasions.

IN ENTERTAINMENT OF GUESTS:

The Rajput welcomed his guest with Munawwar-pivala or Mahday Ra Pivala i.e. the cup of request³ in which, so to speak, they drowned even ancient enmities. The Munawwar-pivala denotes mainly the cup of opium (amal or riyan) and sometimes the cup of wine. The first thing to be presented to a guest was the cup of opium which delighted him. If this was not done, it was deemed to be an insult and discourtesy towards the guest. Even when meeting each other casually on the way, they presented⁴ opium or amal to each other by way of greeting. Thus the

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1. Rajput Painting, A.Coomaraswamy, V.2, pl. XIIIIB.
 2. Art & Architecture of Bikaner State, H.Goets, pl.81, p.172. The earliest reference of tobacco in Rajasthan is the Inscription of temple of Laxmi Narayan of Akola in Mewar of the reign of Maharana Raj Singh. Cf. Appendix XII, Annals & Antiquities, V.I, p.239.
 3. Vir Vinod, V.I, p.209; V.2, p.749; Annals & Antiquities, V.I, p.86.
 4. Dhola Maru Ra Luha, p.34 Cf. Studies in Rajput History, K.R. Jamungo; Annals & Antiquities, V.2, p.750.

presentation of opium to the guest¹ developed into a social custom.

IN BIRTHDAY AND MARRIAGE CELEBRATIONS:

No birthday's could be celebrated without the cup of opium, where the person concerned being cheered over it. In the same^{way} no marriage negotiations could be carried on or matters clinched without the use of intoxicants. No betrothal ceremony could be performed without the use of intoxicants and on such occasions it was necessary to serve both the bride and bridegrooms² party with opium wine and bhang. In marriage ceremonies the main entertainment offered by the bride's party was wine, opium and bhang and tobacco etc. to the bridegroom's party as token of respect.³

IN FESTIVAL CELEBRATIONS:

Festivals were also celebrated⁴ with the consumption of intoxicants. During the festivals of Holi, Diwali, Dashahara

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1. Nensi, V.3, pp. 193, 262.
 2. Annals & Antiquities, V.2, p.749.
 3. Nensi, V.I, pp. 134; Vir Vinod, V.I, p.193; Ra Ratinutana ka Itihas, J.S.Gahlot, V.I, pp. 76,77,81.
 4. Pratap Singh Mohkam Singh Ki Vat, p.49. Rajasthan Sahitya Sangrah, V.2; Vir Vinod, V.I, pp. 122-132. Travels, Tavernier, V.2, p. 249.

Akshavarti etc. the guests were served with opium, opium water, and wine and bhang. The festival of the spring hunt (aheria) in Mewar was celebrated with the distribution of opium and wine to the clansmen and fellowmen on the selected hunting ground, where it was offered by the Mewar ruler¹ to the individuals. The use of intoxicants during the festival days was considered auspicious in the Rajput society. W. Norris, the British ambassador to the court of emperor Aurangzeb observed this custom and remarked, "Their way of feasting is during making a great noise and stupifying their sense with Bhang and opium; if they are betwixt mad and drunke²."

IN MAKING PLEDGES:

The pledges made by a Rajput over a cup of wine or opium become irrevocable. The sanctity of the cup in this respect is honoured by both parties. A pledge once given by Rajput by taking and eating opium is maintained inviolable³ under all circumstances. The Rajput rulers distributed the⁴

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1. Annals & Antiquities, V.2, pp. 660,661.
 2. Norris Embassy, Ed. H.H.Das, p.166.
 3. Annals & Antiquities, V.2, p.750.
 4. Whichi Gangey Nimavati Ko Dopaharo, pp. 13,14, Cf. Rajasthan Sahitya Sangrah, V.I, p. A Memoir of Central India, John Malcolm, V.2, pp. 145,146; Nas Mala, Forbes, V.2, p.261; Tribes & Castes of C.P. of India, Russel, V.4, pp.425,427.

drug with their own hands to their nobles and clansmen, to renew the pledge of loyalty.

The Bhils¹ of Rajasthan also followed this custom whenever a Bhil had to take an oath, he did so after swallowing a bit of solid opium which was placed by other Bhils in a circle marked on the ground.

IN BATTLE:

Before the commencement of the battle, the use of intoxicants was customary among the Rajputs. No true battle could be fought without the consumption of drugs in large quantities, mostly opium² before the commencement of the battle.³ The custom was that the chief distributed opium⁴ to all Rajput soldiers, to renew the pledge of loyalty and to increase their valour and endurance. The European travellers⁴ also confirmed the prevalence of this custom among the Rajputs and said "that on the day of battle, they took double ¹²does of opium than what they took daily and even administered this drug to their horses to enable them to endure fatigue. Some times Bhang¹ was as a

1. Vir Vinod, V.I, pp. 191,192.

2. Dalpat Vilas, p.65.

3. Dayaldas Ri Khvat, V.2, p.132.

4. Jahangir's India, Felsaert, p.78; Travel, John Fryer V.2, p. 106; Storia Do Mogor, V.2, p. 438; Travels, Bernier, pp. 39,40.

used as a substitute of opium, but it was not fancied as much as opium.

Sometimes to gain political aims, the sanctity of these drugs was broken, when they were administered to the opponents treacherously, Rao Ranwal² of Marwar was assassinated by chunda of Mewar after getting him intoxicated with wine and opium. Similarly the states of Bikaner, Bundi, Sirohi and Kota were founded by the Rajput leaders after administering the drugs treacherously³ to the real occupants of the aforesaid territories.

Thus as a whole the intoxicants became a part of Rajput life, making their social significance at different occasions.

DRESS:

Male:- The traditional dress seems to be continued in Rajasthan during the early medieval period which was mainly consisted of upper garment, lower garment and head dress for

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1. Tribes & Castes of C.P. of India, Russell, V.4, pp.422-424.
 2. Vir Vinod, V.I, p.322; Annals & Antiquities, V.I, p.327, Nensi, V.I, p.340.
 3. Nensi, V.I, pp. 134,184, V.2, p.202. Vir Vinod, V.3, p.102. Studies in Rajput History, K.R. Jamnani, pp. 63,70.

the male.¹ The upper garment was known as angabandh while the lower garment was termed Chir or dhoti. Sometimes the upper garment was also known as achhhhadan² and the lower garment as paridhan. The use of different kinds of coats and trousers³ was also prevalent among the royalty during the period of Harsha, which were probably introduced under foreign influence. The use of Pagri⁴ (headdress) remain unaltered during this period. These dresses continued upto 15th century, along with certain new innovations in them.⁵ The nobles and princes put trousers, shirt and a kaftan (a long coat), a fata on the shoulders and a pagri on the head, while the middle class and low class people used a stitched upper garment, known as angarakhi, unstitched lower garment closely tied around the waist and termed as dhoti, a small pagri and a scarf to be put on head and shoulders. The use of coats and trousers was probably limited to the class of nobles and princes. The forest tribes and the poor only used a

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1. hao Jiltsiro Chhand, VV. 27,67; Bikaner ka Itihas, G.H.Ojha, V.I, p.23.
 2. Eklings Mahatmya, V.22.
 3. Harsh Charit, V.S. Agrawal, pp. 148,153.
 4. Ibid., p.20; Jugal Vilas, pp. 34,46.
 5. India in the 15th Century, Ed. R.H.Major, p.10 Cf. Observation of Nikitin; Nensi, V.I, pr.54,108; Marwar & the Mughals, G.N.Sharma, p.74.

a lion-cloth¹ and keeping the rest body naked.

²
During the Mughal period the dress of the nobles and rulers in the Rajput society was consisted of turban on their head, a qaba (coat) above the shirt over the upper portion of the body, the lower portion of the body covered with tight drawers or trousers, and above them a long waist-band (phataka) tied around the waist, and on their feet they had the shoes of velvet or red leather. The dress of the royalty is also testified by the contemporary paintings of the 17th and 18th centuries, which further depict the Mughal impact on the dresses.

The tying of turban (Pag, Chira, Pagri & Khanga) of Rajput rulers and nobles got enormous changes³ during the Mughal period. The atapati pagri used in Mewar paintings was popular in Akbar's time. The loose and tight turbans with a broad shash were the common types of Jahangir & Shahjahan's period.

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1. Travels, Peter Mundy, V.2, p.260. Observation of the Writer at Sirohi.
 2. Storia Do Mogor, V.3, p.39; Dalpat Vilas, p.104; Jugal Vilas, pp. 34,46; Vir Vinod, V.I, p.207.
 3. Man Singh & Sawai Jai Singh's painting of Picture gallery, Jaipur palace; Mewar Painting, Moti Chandra Pl.I,II,III,IV, V,VIII,IX; Bundi Painting, Promod Chandra, Pl. I,II; Jodan Painting, Cf. Private Picture Gallery of Maharana at Udaipur; Studies in Indian Painting, N.C.Mehta, p.18, Rajput Painting, A.Coomaraswamy, p.81. Vir Vinod, V.I,p.207.

Under the impact of the types of the Mughal turbans the Rajput rulers introduced in their own courts the different types of turbans on the basis of their different modes of tying i.e. the Amber Shahi turban at Mewar; Udaipur Shahi at Doongarpur; Bundi Shahi at Bundi and Kota Vijah Sahi at Jodhpur and Man Shahi at Jaipur. Thus the individualistic types of turbans became the peculiar features of the Rajput states, which were basically influenced by the Mughal pattern of turbans. Further these turbans were decorated¹ with sarpech, turrah, goshpech, pathepech etc. on the Mughal pattern as most of these decorative ornaments were bestowed by the Mughal emperors² upon the Rajput rulers.

The upper garments which were introduced by Rajput ruling class were consisted of qaba, Jama, Peshwai and Takauchiya³ (all coats of different types) and were commonly termed as yaga⁴ or Jhagga. A chakdar-jama⁵, whose circumference was having⁶ four points was more popular; while the qaba of round

1. Suraj Prakash, V.2, p.182.

2. These ornaments were bestowed at different occasions i.e. increase of mansab, grant of leave, new appointment, tika ceremony etc.

3. Ain, V.I, p.95.

4. Abhay Vilas, p.31; Hazrat Nahi, V.3. 1831; Jugal Vilas, p.46. Vir Vilas, V.I, p.207.

5. Mewar Painting, Moti Chandra Pl. I; Bundi Painting, Premod Chandra, Pl. I in Introduction, Alimut Painting, L.Gray, Pl. 4,14.

6. Mewar Painting, Moti Chandra Pl. II,III,VIII,IX,X,Bundi Painting, Premod Chandra Pl.II, Rajput Painting, B.Gray, Pl. 7,16.

circumference without points was also favoured and its length was upto the lower portion of the knees but above the ankles. The cloth used for these qabas was either ~~a~~ opaque or with different prints of the floral motifs according to the Mughal fashion. These coats of different types were tied mostly on the left side of the chest and usually having the full sleeves. These long coats were invariably adopted in the dress by the ruling class of Rajasthan under the Mughal impact.

The lower garments, below the upper garment (qaba or jama) were the trousers, which were mostly tight ones, bound in the waist with the help of the ribbons (izarbands) and were upto the ankles. These trousers were of different clothes, the lined ones (striped), the printed ones (floral motifs) ~~x~~ but mostly without designs. This dress also became a favourite dress of the ruling class, instead of old dhoti wearing.

Then above the trousers and qaba, (coat) a sheet of cloth which was usually pointed and printed was tied round the waist and was commonly known as phataka. These phatakas, were coloured and painted. These were also introduced under the

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1. Mewar Painting, Moti Chandra Pl. I, II, III, V, VIII, IX
Bundi Painting, Prasad Chandra, Pl. I, II, Jaipur Painting,
B. Gray, Pl. I, III, IV, VI, VII.
 2. Ibid., (All paintings).

Mughal impact by the ruling class of Rajasthan.

In the first, the shoes of different types were also used.

Thus there was a sort of complete transformation in the Rajput dress under the influence of the Mughal court.

While the dress of the common men was consisted of angarakhi (upper garment), dhoti¹ (lower garment), and phanta (head dress) as usual.

FEMALE DRESS:

During the 15th century, the main dress of the ladies seems to be comprised of orni, kanchuki and lahanga, as is evident from the sculptures of the kumbhaswami² temple of Mewar. The upper dress of the body was known as kanchuki or Angiya³ or choli (bodice) covering the breasts upto stomach but without sleeves or with half sleeves. Lower portion of the body was

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1. Rajput Painting, B.Gray Pl.V. The common man is wearing a full sleeved upper garment which is covering the body below the waist but above the thighs, a scarf on the shoulders and a sheet of cloth in the form of dhoti as lower garment, though the theme is religious one. Storia De Mogor, V.3, p.39; Vir Vinod, V.I, p.207.
 2. Maharana Kumbha as the builder of temples - V.S.Drivastava p.52 Cf. Rajasthan bharti, Vol.8, No.1-2 (Hindi). This dress seems to be the continuation of old traditional one from the time of Harsha Cf. Harsh Charit, V.S.Agrawal, pp.23,56; Kadambari, V.S.Agrawal, p.25.
 3. Rajput Painting, B.Gray, Pl. II,III, Indian Miniature, R. Reiff, p.1. Jugal Vilas, p.34; Bikaner Ka Itihas, G.H.Ojha, V.I, p.23.

covered by stiched skirt tied in the Waist with the help of ribbon and covered the body from waist to ankles and termed as lahanga¹. The third part of the dress was orni², an unstiched cloth to cover the head and the upper portion of the body over the bodice. In the dress of lower part a substitute of lahanga³ was also prevalent in the form of dhoti or sari (an unstiched peace of long cloth, usually wrapped over the lions and tied in waist, covering the body upto the knees or upto the ankles. These dresses were invariably used by the rich and poor alike.

However, certain new elements were introduced in the female dress of the ruling Rajput class, due to the close contacts with the Imperial court. During the 16th and 17th centuries, the female dress was mainly formed of choli or angiya (bodice) to cover the upper parts of the body having half sleeves and tied on the backside; below a lahanga or

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1. Rajput Painting, B.Gray, Pl.III, Jugal Vilas, p.46. Nehtarang, pp. 7,24,82. Bikaner ka Itihas, G.H.Ojha, V.I, p.23. Vir Vinod, V.I, pp. 189,207.
 2. Rajput Painting, B.Gray, Pl.III, Indian Miniature, R.Reiff Pl.I, Nehtarang, p.7. It is termed as Vodhani, Vir Vinod, V.I, pp.189,207, Bikaner ka Itihas, G.H.Ojha, V.I,p.23.
 3. Nensi, V.I, p.102; Nehtarang, pp. 16,22; Jugal Vilas, p.46; Rajput Painting, B.Gray, Pl.II.
 4. Mewar Painting, Moti Chandra, Pl.I; Mundi Painting, Premod Chandra, Pl. I,II,IV; Indian Miniature, R.Reiff, Pl.III; Rajput Painting, B.Gray, Pl.IV,V; Some Aspects of Mewari School of Painting, G.N.Sharma, p. 276 Cf. Proc. I.H.C. 1954.

ghaghra which was round in shape and covering the lower body upto ankles. Sometimes sari or dhoti was also wrapped in the waist, whose breadth was upto the ankles. Orni was significantly changed, in mode of its wearing. The one end of the orni was tied in the waist, while the other covered the head after making a cover over the bodice.

The new element introduced in the dress was the addition of ¹patakas of different colours and designs wrapped round the waist, whose one¹end reached upto the ankles between the two² feet. It was tied over the sari or lehanga. The trousers were also introduced as substitute of sari and lehanga but most probably they were used by the royal maid attendants in Mughal fashion. Among the attendants ³pairahan was also introduced which covered the whole body covering the upper portion and the lower portion and was of the length of shoulder to ankle. The circumference of this garment was curved at its termination. It was to¹wear over the bodice and ghagra, and due to its transparency the inner garments were visible. These additions were the results of the Mughal manners of dress.

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1. Mewar Painting, Moti Chandra Pl. I, Bundi Painting, Pramod Chandra Pl. II, III, IV, Jugal Vilas, pp. 34, 46.
 2. Kaiput Painting, B. Gray, Pl. I, Indian Miniatures, R. Reiff, Pl. I.
 3. Bundi Painting, Pramod Chandra Pl. III, IV.

ORNAMENTS:

Male's:- The use of ornaments by both men and women became a social custom in Indian society from ancient period. During the medieval period the Rajput males used different types of ornaments. Prithviraj Chauhan¹ used a pearl necklace over his chest, kundalas with pearls in the ears and keyuras in the hands. Similar ornaments continued till the end of 17th century² in the Rajput society. The males used to wear ear rings usually of three pearls occasionally of two pearls studded in gold in each ear ring, two side pearls were white and the central one red in case of three pearls earrings. The common people used plain earrings of gold.

³
The chest was adorned with the necklaces of diamond, pearls and other precious stones. Sometimes a several necklaces of different types and of different precious stones were used by the rulers at a time. The variety and number of necklaces depended upon the status of the person concerned. The common

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1. Early Chauhan Dyn., D.Sharma, pp. 261,262.
 2. Indian Miniature, R.Reiff, Pl. I, Mewar Painting, Moti Chandra Pl. III,V,VIII,IX, Rajput Painting, B.Gray, Pl. V.VI,VII, Bundi Painting, Pramod Chandra Pl.I,II, History of Medieval Hindu India, C.V.Vaidya, V.2, p.187.
 3. History of Medieval Hindu India, C.V.Vaidya, V.2, pp.187, 188; Bundi Painting, Pramod Chandra Pl. I,II, Mewar Painting, Moti Chandra Pl.I,II,III,V,VIII,IX,X. Rajput Painting, B.Gray, Pl. VI, Lala Mewari Ri Vat, P.10; Indian Miniature R.Reiff, pl.I.

people in place of necklaces used gold chains over their chests.

In the wrists of the hands ¹karas of plain gold or that of any other metal were used as ornament. The old ²wristings (karas) were also studded with precious stones i.e. diamond and pearls. This ornament was generally not used by common men.

²The fingers of the hands were also adorned with finger-rings of different types. Those were known as Bitikas. The number of finger rings in the hands increased or decreased according to the richness of the person concerned.

The musicians and singers ³sometime used anklets of diverse metals in feet.

Among the ornaments of the rulers, a new variety was introduced by the Mughal emperors, in the form of ⁴turrah, serpech gosh-pech, atch-pech and balahandi to be worn over the turbans.

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1. Mewar Painting, Moti Chandra, Pl.I,II, bundi Painting, Pramod Chandra Pl. I,V. Tuzuk, V.I, p.186; Suraj Prakash, V.I, p.147.
 2. Mewar Painting, Moti Chandra Pl. III,V,VIII,IX, bundi Painting, Pramod Chandra Pl. II,VII.
 3. Mewar Painting, Moti Chandra Pl. I, Indian Miniature, R.Reiff, Pl. I.
 4. bundi Painting, Pramod Chandra Pl. I, Mewar Painting Moti Chandra, Pl. I, Suraj Prakash, V.2, p.182.

Mostly these ornaments were bestowed upon Rajput rulers by the Mughal emperors, which were adopted by them as the ornaments of the royalty.

FEMALE'S ORNAMENTS:

The use of ornaments among the ladies was very profuse. They covered almost whole of the body right from head to feet with different types of ornaments. The main ornaments of ladies during the early medieval period were the tika on the forehead; ¹earrings or kundal in the ears; finger rings or mundari in the hands; kanthi or godar around the neck; the nose rings of pearls in the nostrils or the nose; the nocklace on their breasts; kardhani on the waist; bainubandh over the elbows; kankan over the wrists along with churi (metallic or of ivory) and nodar or payal over the ankles. The full or the partial use of these ornaments depended upon the resources of the ladies husband or father-in-laws. Those ladies who were of well off houses practically used all these ornaments at festive occasions if not regularly.

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1. Anphaddepravandh, p.159. Hammirayan, p.30; Raj Vallabh, Canto 4 Verse 19; Sural Prakash, V.2, pp.160-167; Early Chauhan Dyn., D.Sharma, p.262; Maharana Kumbha, Somani, p.314; Maharana Kumbha as temple builder, V.S.Brivastava, Cf. Rajasthan Bharti (Hindi) V.8 No.1-2, p.52.

During 16th and 17th centuries, a large number of ornaments were used by the ladies, which were changed in the shapes and designs. Among these ornaments the tika or shishphool¹ was to be used on the forehead or temple and tied into the hair of the head; the ears were decorated with ear-rings or karannphool² or kundal which hanged from the pierced lower edge of the ear; the nose was adorned with nose rings of different types termed as nath,³ bulau⁴ etc.; the neck was adorned with neck chains or kanthi⁵ or with solid gold or silver ornament termed as hansuli⁶; the breast portion covered with necklaces

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1. Vir Vinod, V.I, p.207; Jugal Vilas, pp.9,16; Nehtarang pp. 13,37; Padmini Charitra Chappai, pp.22,23; Khichi Gangey Newabai Ro Dopahara, p.16; Mewar Painting, Pl.I, to IX; Bundi Painting, Pl. I,II,III; Indian Miniature, R.Reiff, Pl.I,III; Rajput Painting, B.Gray, Pl.II,III,IV,V.
 2. Padmini Charitra Chappai, p.23; Khichi Gangey Newabai Ro Dopahara, p.16; Mewar Painting, Pl.IX, I, Bundi Painting, Pl.I,II,III; Indian Miniature, R.Reiff, Pl.I,III; Rajput Painting, B.Gray, Pl.II,III,IV,V.
 3. Jugal Vilas, p.3; Nehtarang, p.69; Mewar M Painting, Pl.I-IX; Bundi Painting, Pl. I,II,III Indian Miniature, R.Reiff, Pl. III; Rajput Painting, B.Gray Pl. V, Vir Vinod, V.I, p.207.
 4. Jugal Vilas, p.3; Mewar Painting, Pl.II; Indian Miniature, R.Reiff, Pl.I; Rajput Painting, B.Gray, Pl.V.
 5. Veli Krishna Kukmini Ri, p.25, Nehtarang, p.55; Mewar Painting, Pl.I,II; Bundi Painting, Pl.I,II,III, Indian Miniature, R.Reiff, pl.I.
 6. Some Aspects of Mewar School of Painting p.276, Cf. Proc. I.H.C. 1964.

¹
(har, sasiloti) of different designs, hanged over the neck;
the waist was covered with a chain of gold or silver studded
with precious stones and termed as kardhani² or mekhala. The
hands were decorated with three types of ornaments viz bajubandh³
between shoulder and elbow, kankan⁴ or Launchiya, and metallic
bangles over the wrists of the hands and the fingers with
finger-rings (bithi⁵ or mundari) later on a new ornament was
added to adorn the back portion of the palms (hathphool)⁶ which
was supported by the wrist and fingers of the hand.

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1. Jugal Vilas, pp. 1,3,4,30; Velli Krishna Rukmini Ri, pp.26, 58; Padmini Charitrachopai, p.23; Nehtarang, p.17; Khichi Niwabat Ro Dopaharo, p.16. Mewar Painting, Pl. I-IX, Bundi Painting, Pl. I,III, Indian Miniature, R.Reiff, Pl. I,III, Rajput Painting, B.Gray, Pl. II-IV.
 2. Velli Krishan Rukmini Ri, p.58; Khichi Gangev Niwavat Ro Doparo, p.16; Mewar Painting, Pl. VI.
 3. Velli Krishna Rukmini Ri, p.26; Jugal Vilas, pp.8,16; Khichi Gangev Niwavat Ro Dopahro, p.16; Mewar Painting, Pl. I,II-IX, Bundi Painting, Pl. I-III; Indian Miniature, R. R.Reiff, Pl. I,III; Rajput Painting, B.Gray, Pl. II,III,IV,V.
 4. Jugal Vilas, p.17; Velli Krishan Rukmini Ri, p.23; Khichi Gangev Niwavat Ro Dopahro, p.16; Mewar Painting, Pl. I-IX; Bundi Painting, Pl. I-III; Indian Miniature, R.Reiff, Pl. I,III; Rajput Painting, B.Gray, Pl. II-V.
 5. Jugal Vilas, p.17; Khichi Gangev Niwabat Ro Dopahro, p.16; Bundi Painting, Pl. II; Rajput Painting, B.Gray, Pl. III.
 6. Bundi Painting, Pl. III, Mewar Painting, Pl. I.

The ornaments of the feet were the anklets (¹paval, mupur, payzeb), over the ankles of the feet and metallic rings (²bichhiyan) in the fingers of the feet.

It seems that during the Mughal period, not only the new designs were introduced, but also some new ornaments were added among the ladies ornaments. Among such new ornaments was one adorned the back of the palms of the hands (hathphool), which was not found in use earlier. Secondly the use of nath & bulaq in the nose were the outcome of Muslim contact as they were quite prevalently used by Muslim ladies. The use ³of a ring in the upper portion of the ears was also a new addition and probably it too was borrowed from the Mughals.

⁴Besides these ornaments the use of henna for painting and dying the hands and feet of the ladies, seems to be another

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1. Jugal Vilas, pp. 17,30; Nehtarang, p.74; Khichi Gangey Ro Donaharo, p.16; Mewar Painting, Pl. I-IX; Bundi Painting, Pl.I-III. Indian Minature, R.Reiff, Pl. I,III; Rajput Painting, B.Gray, Pl. II,V.
 2. Nehtarang, p.55; Bundi Painting, Pl.II.
 3. Bundi Painting, Pl. II,III; Rajput Painting, B.Gray, Pl. II, III.
 4. Jugal Vilas, p.3. Mewar Painting, Pl. II,VI; Bundi Painting, Pl. I,II,III; Rajput Painting, B.Gray, Pl. III,V; Storia Do Moor, V.2, p.341.

feature of Mughal impact. Because in earlier paintings we do not find such details, nor it is described in the cosmetics of ladies though sindur and kunkum were used from earliest period.

TOILETS & COSMETICS:

Cleanliness of the body was an essential act for both men and women. The men used to take bath in the morning before the beginning of the day's routine. They also cleaned their teeth either at the time of bath or before bath with cleaning paste (manjan) or with ready made tooth brush (datun) of some thin branch of the tree. After bath the soothing unguents were applied over the body, but such practice seems to be confined to ruling aristocracy. The soothing unguents were commonly prepared from the sandalwood or camphor.

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1. Jahangir's India, Pelsaert, p.76; Nensi, V.2, p.14, Travel, Careri, p.246.
 2. Nensi, V.2, p.14; V.3, p.251; Some Sidelights on the career of Bishan Singh Kachwaha of Amber, K.R. Ramungo, Cf. Proc. I.H.C. 1948, p.169.
 3. Some Aspects of Social Life, K.R. Seth, Cf. Indian Culture 1947, V.14, No.2, p.58.

The beard, moustaches and the hair of the head were combed¹ after applying different oils.

The different varieties of cosmetics were used over the body by the women after the bath. The process of applying the cosmetics was termed as singar.² The first object of cosmetics³ was the head where the different oils (preferably chameli oil or coconut oil) were applied in the hair, which were well dressed, plaited and tied, usually hanging on the back of the body. At the centre of the head, and the place of parting of hair⁴ sindur or Kumkum (vermilion) was applied by the married ladies. The centre of the forehead was adorned by the appliance⁵ of a painted mark (usually of red colour) termed as bindi or

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1. Dalpat Vilas, p.56.
 2. Hammiravan, p.30; Veli Krishna Rukmini Ri, p.27; Jugal Vilas, p.3; Surai Prakash, V.I, pp. 2,119; V.2, pp.150, 160-167.
 3. Storia Do Mogor, V.2, p.341; V.3, p.186; Travels, P.Mundy, V.2, p.87.
 4. Veli Krishna Rukmini Ri, p.23; Nehtarang, p.3,20; Rajput Painting, B.Gray, Pl. II; Indian miniature, R.Reiff, Pl.I; Mewar Painting, Moti Chandra, pl.II.
 5. Veli Krishna Rukmini Ri, p.23; Jugal Vilas, p.4; Hammiravan, p.30; Padmini Charitra Chauhan, p.23.
 6. Veli Krishna Rukmini Ri, p.28; Jugal Vilas, p.4; Padmini Charitra Chauhan, p.23; Jaswant Udyot, p.84; Khichi Gangey Lewayat to Dondabao, p.16.

bendi again by the married ones. The kajal¹ (collyrium) was applied in the eyes. The body was annointed with several kinds of perfumes¹ i.e. paste of sandalwood (argaja), agar, khas chua and scented oils. The hands and feet were dyed and painted with mahavar³ and mehndi⁴ (henna). The nails of fingers of hands and feet wore also painted with red colour or henna.⁵ Lastly they reddened their lips by chewing the betel leaves (tambol).

However, the widows were prohibited to use any one of these cosmetics, and were allowed to live on bare necessities of life.

EDUCATION:

In medieval Rajasthan generally the educational institutions⁶ were not maintained and organised by the Rajput states.

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1. Hamiravan, p.30; Veli Krishna Rukmini ki, p.24; Jaswant Udyot, p.84; Jugal Vilas, p.31.
 2. Veli Krishna Rukmini ki, pp.22,28; Jugal Vilas, p.3; Gangev Niwavat Ro Dopaharo, p.16; Storia Do Mogor, V.2, p.341; Travel, P.Mundy, V.2, p.162.
 3. Nehtarang, p.16; Jugal Vilas, p.3; Mewar Painting, Pl. II-IX, Indian Miniature, R.Reiff, Pl.III-Showing the lady making her toilets. Storia Do Mogor, V.2,p.341.
 4. Rajput Painting, E.Gray, III, V.
 5. Hamiravana, p.30; Veli Krishna Rukmini ki, pp. 27,28.
 6. We find an exceptional case of Rana Moka (1421-1433 A.D.)

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It seems that education was imparted mainly by the Brahmins¹ at their houses and maths; by the Jain Sadhus² at Upsaras, to propagate the religious learning beside the traditional subjects³ of secular learning. The rulers and nobles might have favoured the system of employing teachers to impart education to their children separately. The Sanskrit and Rajasthani (Marwari, Mewari & Malvi) literature were the main fields and education.

However, during the Mughal period the traditional system⁴ of education seems to be remained as such with the addition of Persian literature and language in the education of ruling class and officials. The inclusion of Persian literature.

(Continued from the previous page)

of Mewar, who established an institution for the teaching of Vedas to the Brahmins, Chringirishi Inscription, V.16; Kumbhalgarh Inscription, VV. 22, 39, 217, 225. Cf. E.I.V. II, pp. 410-421; Similarly Mirza Raja Jai Singh founded an institution at Banaras, Travel, Tavernier, V.2, pp.234, 235.

1. Eklunga Inscription of V.S. 1545, VV. 91-96 Cf. Bhavnagar Inscriptions. V.IX, pp. 117-133; Kanhaddepravandh, p. 104. Social Life in Medieval Rajasthan, G.N.Sharma, p. 270; Rajasthan through the Ages, D.Sharma, p.515.
2. Ibid., PP. 518-521; Binaker Jain Lekh Sangrah, A.C.Nahata, p. 56.
3. Kanhaddepravandh, p.104. Eklunga Inscription, VV. 91-96; Maharana Kumbha, H.B.Sarda, pp. 163, 164; History of Hindu Medieval India, C.V.Vaidya, V.2, p.182.
4. Suraj Prakash, V.2, pp. 16, 154, 158.

and language was mainly due to the political necessity. The Rajput rulers and their officials started to learn this language because it was the official language of the Mughal court and was essential for correspondence with the Imperial court whether they were at home or in Imperial service. The necessity of regular correspondence with the imperial government might have led to the establishment of Persian secretariates at the Rajput courts, where Persian knowing persons were employed (usually Kayasthas).

The process of learning Persian seems to be started by the Rajputs from the reign of Akbar, and continued so till the fall of Mughal empire. During Akbar's period Rao Manohar¹ S/o Rao Lunkaran not only learnt Persian but acquired proficiency in it and composed Persian poetry under the tekhallus of Taushani, and was known in the court as Mirza Manohar. The Rajputs rulers seems to have made arrangements for their children to learn Persian at quite early age. According to the news-² report of the camp of prince Bishan Singh Kachhwaha at Jalalabad, he was given lessons in Persian generally in the

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1. Ain, V.I, p.654; Tabaqat, V.2, p.505; Tuzuk, V.I, pp.17,18; M.U., V.1, p.837.
 2. Some Sidelights on the career of Raja Bishan Singh Kachhwaha of Amber, K.R. Janungo, Cf. Proc. I.H.C. 1948, p.169. Akhund Sindhari, was appointed as the Persian tutor of the prince.

afternoon and also practiced penmanship in Persian, though he could not learn enough Persian to read and write. Similarly the other rulers might have also learnt Persian under the impulse of Mughal court.

CHAPTER V

ADMINISTRATION

RAJPUT ADMINISTRATION IN PRE-MUGHAL PERIOD:

In the Rajput states the ruler was the head of the army, lord of the state treasury, the highest court of appeal and the chief executive of the state. To run the administration of the state, the ruler was assisted by his feudal chiefs who were termed as ¹ sementas, ² Jahangirdars, ³ Thakurs, ranakas and bhoktas, all of whom were invariably the Rajputs. Military service in lieu of grants of land was the characteristic feature of the feudalism. They were entitled to collect the taxes from the people in their respective fiefs. Their main duty was to ⁴ give military assistance to the ruler and also to maintain law and order in their fiefs. Probably they were also required to safeguard the high-ways that passed through their fiefs. It

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1. Bherghat Inscription of 1155 A.D., Cf. Epi, Ind., V.2, pp. 17-26; Kanhaddeprayandh, pp. 110,112; Marwar Ra Pargana Ri Vigat, V.I, pp. 2,3.
 2. Bali Inscription of V.S. 1216/1159 A.D., Cf. Arch. Survey of India, Western Circle 1907-1908 pp. 54,55; Dyn.History of Northern India, H.C.Ray, V.2, p.981.
 3. Early Chauhan Dyn., D.Sharma, pp. 202,203; Marwar Ra Pargana Ri Vigat, V.I, p.12; V.2, p.3.
 4. Kanhaddeprayandh, pp. 110,112; Marwar Ra Pargana Ri Vigat, V.I, pp. 2,3,12.

seems that they were the masters of their fiefs, though they could not interfere in the property donated to Brahmans and charans by the ruler, if that lay in their fiefs.

Besides the assistance of the fief holders the rulers appointed certain officials to look after the administration of the state and particularly the territory which was under their direct control. These officials who assisted the ruler in the transaction of business of the state were termed as ¹ mantris or amatyas (ministers). The different departments of the state administration were given under the charge of different ministers. These were as follows:

- (1) ² Mahamantri, ³ Mahaamatya or ⁴ Pradhan:- He was the Prime Minister of the state. He exercised general supervision

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1. Kanhaddepravandh, p.187; Amar Sar, V.99; Dyn. History of Northern India, H.C.Ray, V.2, pp. 1169-70.
 2. Maner Copper Plate of King Govind Chandra, V.S. 1183, line 12 Cf. J.B.O.R.S. 1916, P.IV; Raj Vilas, Canto 2 VV.67-72.
 3. Jagat Inscription of V.S. 1277; Baroda Inscription of V.S. 1339; Aghata Inscription of V.S.1317; A newly discovered Inscription of Rawal Tej Singh of Mewar, V.S.1317; R.C. Agrawal Cf. I.H. v.1961, V.37 No.1, p.49; Chirva Inscription; Early Chauhan Dyn., D.Sharma, pp. 197,198; Pratihara Administration, R.S.Tripathi Cf. I.H. v.1933, V.9 pp.125,126.
 4. Kanhaddepravandh, pp. 7,23,82. Stone Inscription of Rawal Tej Singh of Mewar, of 1267 A.D. Cf. J.B.A.S. V.65, p.I, pp. 46-47. Vir Vinod, V.I, p.386 (Sesh Sangrah, No.13).

over all departments, and was the most trusted member of the ministry. All the other mantris (ministers) or samantas (fief holders) addressed him respectfully.

(2) ¹
Senadhipati or Senapati:- He was the commander-in-chief of the army. He was next to Prime Minister in official hierarchy. All the army officers, who were posted either in the outposts, towns or forts were under his direct control. He used to accompany the ruler in the military expeditions and supervised the whole army.

(3) ²
Sandhivigrahika:- He was the minister incharge of war and peace. He was required to draft royal charters and despatches, while his other duties are not known.

(4) ³
Akshpatalika:- He was the highest accounts officer of the state. His duty was to note down the court proceedings and

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1. Manor Copper Plate of, V.S.1183 Cf. J.B.O.R.S. 1916 p.IV; Epi. Ind. V.IV pp. 31, 32; Early Chauhan Dyn., D.Sharma, pp. 194, 198. Pratihara Adm., R.S.Tripathi Cf. I.H.Q.1933, V.9, pp.125,126; History of Medieval India, C.V.Vaidya V.2, pp.231,232; Maharana Kumbha, Sonani, p.163.
 2. Stone Inscription of Someshwar Temple of Udaipur; Kiradu Inscription of Alhana, Cf. R.I, V.XII, pp.44; Adm. Institutions of Mewar in the pre-Mughal times, R.G.Sharma, Cf.Proc. R.H.C. 1967 p.45; Early Chauhan Dyn., D.Sharma, p.199; Dyn. History of Northern India, H.C.Ray, V.2, pp.1169-70.
 3. Manor Copper Plate of V.S.1183; Stone Inscription of Someshwar temple at Udaipur; Adm. Institutions of Mewar in Pre-Mughal Times, R.G.Sharma, Proc. R.H.C. 1967, p.45; Dyn. History of Northern India, H.C.Ray, V.2, pp.1169,1170.

to keep the records. The grant of fiefs or sasan lands (charity lands) were recorded especially by him. The records of income and expenditure of the state were also maintained by him.

(5) ¹
Bhandagarika:- He was the incharge of royal treasures. Probably he also made provisions of different kinds to the ruler's requirements. Therefore it seems that he also worked as the superintendent of the royal stores.

(6) ²
Purohit:- In the religious matters, the ruler was guided by the Purohit. He also supervised the religious and social functions of the ruler's court. Sometimes he also acted as a mediator to patch up the differences among the members of the royal family if there had been any.

(7) ³
Talaraksha or Talar:- He was the incharge of the ruler's capital city, maintained law and order, enforced

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1. Manor Copper plate of V.S. 1183; Pratihara Adm., R.S.Tripathi Cf. I.H.Q. 1933, V.9 pp.125, 126; Baroda Inscription of V.S. 1339/1282 A.D., Early Chauhan Dyn., D.Sharma, p.200. Rajasthan through the ages, D.Sharma, p.321.
 2. Manor Copper Plate of V.S.1183; Baroda Inscription of V.S. 1339; Kanhaddepravandh, p.170; Kai Vilas, Canto, V.67. Pratihara Adm., R.S.Tripathi, Cf. I.H.Q. 1933 V.9 pp.125, 126. Early Chauhan Dyn., D.Sharma, p.200.
 3. Chirwa Inscription of V.S.1330, Kanhaddepravandh, p.170; Nensi, V.I, p.215. Early Chauhan Dyn., D.Sharma, p.217; Maharana Kumbha, Somani, p.164.

king's regulation and supervised the economy of the city.

Beside these officials a large number of officials¹ were appointed in the court to supervise the different departments of the royal household:

- (1) Bhishagacharya (royal physician)
- (2) Bandipati (royal genealogist)
- (3) Naimittika (royal astrologer)
- (4) Srikarnadhipati (incharge of royal seal)
- (5) Bhandari or Kothari (treasurer)
- (6) Antahpurika (superintendent of seraglio)
- (7) Pratihara (chamberlain)
- (8) Gokuladhikarapurushas (incharge of cattles)
- (9) Kayastha or Karanika (scribes)
- (10) Dutas (envoys)
- (11) Anglehas or Aydharias (royal attendants)
- (12) Niyuktaka or Ayuktaka (incharge of royal kitchen)

1. Manor Copper Plate of V.S. 1183; Chirwa Inscription of V.S. 1330; Nadesama Inscription of V.S. 1279; Hammira Mahakavya, Cf. I.A.A., V.8, 1879 p.72; Kanhaddepravandh, p.57, 170. Dyn. History of Northern India, H.C.Ray, V.2, pp. 1169, 1170; Pratihara Adm., R.S.Tripathi, Cf. I.H.A. 1933, V.9, pp.125,126; Early Chauhan Dyn., D. Sharma, pp. 200, 205,206; adm. Institutions of Mewar in the pre-Mughal times, R.G.Sharma, Cf. Proc. R.H.C.1967, p.45; Maharana Kumbha, Somani, pp.157, 163; History of Medieval India, C.V. Vaidya V.2, pp. 231, 232; Rajasthan through the ages, D. Sharma, pp. 321, 322.

TERRITORIAL DIVISION:

During the 10th century, the territory under the
¹
Pratiharas was divided into traditional bhuktis (provinces),
sub-divided into mandalas (districts), which were further divided
into vishayas, comprising of the gramas (villages). However,
during 15th century, the states of Rajasthan formed only a
single unit by itself and were known as desh.² The desh included
the villages (Gaon or Gram), city and towns (jannpad or llagar),
and forts (durg).

The desh or territory or kingdom was divided into
administrative divisions known as parganas during the 15th
century as is evident by Rana Mokals (Mewar) Copper Plate of
³
V.S. 1482/1425 A.D., which belonged to pre-Mughal period. These
parganas were constituted of a number of villages. The same

1. Barah Inscription of Dhoja, Cf. I.A., V. XIX; Vadner
Inscription of Budhraja, Cf. R.I., V.XII, p.130; The Age
of Imperial Kannauj, Ed. R.C.Majumagr, p.240; Pratihara
Adm., R.S.Tripathi, Cf. I.H., V. 1933, V.9p.126; Dyn. History
of Northern India, H.C.Ray, V.2, p.243.

2. Jalor Inscription of V.S. 1174; Kiradu Inscription of
V.S. 1218; Jawar Inscription of V.S. 1554, Verse 12
"मेदक्तेश्चर दे जे" Dalpat Vilas, p.20; Nensi, V.I, pp.
71, 81.

3. Rana Mokals' Copper Plate of V.S. 1482/1425 A.D., Cf.
I.H., V.30, No.2, p.181.

"मल्लिकार्जुन उक्त म. 1480 आ श्री जो उल ली आन मल २२ १-११ मेर
गात्र १ रुंवाली प्रगणे के मल-रे कोर १ ४, वेद्यो २ ५ १"

administrative divisions¹ seems to be followed by other Rajput states of Rajasthan.

REVENUE OF THE RULER:

The rulers of Rajasthan had different sources of revenue based on traditional pattern of earlier period. Upto the 16th century the main sources of ruler's revenue were as follows:-

(1) Udrang, bhaga or dani²:- The main source of revenue was the land tax imposed upon the peasants, known by different terms as Udrang, bhaga or dani. Usually it was 1/6th of the actual produce and was realized in the form of the produce (kind), therefore, it was generally termed as bhaga (portion). But this tax was not levied and realized by the rulers in the fiefs of the fief holders, where it was realized by the fief holders while the charitable grants of land to the Brahmans and charanas were exempted.

(2) Hiranya³:- The land tax realized in cash was known as Hiranya.

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1. Aathor Ki Vamshavali, pp.78,87. The view of Dr.V.S.Bhargava, that the word pargana was used for territorial division due to Mughal influence, seems to be wrong Cf. Marwar and the Mughal Emp., V.S.Bhargava, p.174.
 2. Major Inscription of V.S.1016, Cf. I.A., V.XIX, p.22; Rajasthan through the ages, D.Sharma, pp.323,325. Pratihara Adm. R.S. Tripathi, Cf. I.H.v. 1933, V.9, p.128.
 3. Baroda grant of Dhruva of V.S. 882; Pratihara Adm., R.S. Tripathi, Cf. I.H.v., 1933, V.9, pp.128, 129.

(3) ¹Bhoga:- Customary presents made to the ruler ~~of~~ at different occasions by the people, feudal lords and officials particularly at the time of ruler's visit ~~or~~ at the time of marriages in royal family were termed as bhoga.

(4) ²Dana:- The custom duties levied on different articles were termed as dana, and were realized by the officials posted at outposts or in the cities and towns.

(5) ³Danda (fines):- Another source of the revenue was the imposition of fines on defaulters and criminals. The guilty of minor crimes were generally punished with the imposition of fines.

(6) ⁴Other cesses (Abhavyas):- Apart from the above mentioned taxes, the other cesses were also imposed of varying nature i.e. an additional impost for the services of officers

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1. Kajor Inscription of V.S. 1016, Cf. I.A., V.XIX, p.22. Rajasthan through the ages, D.Sharma, p. 325.
 2. Mangrol Inscription, cited by D. Sharma, Early Chauhan Dyn., p.208.
 3. Kiradu Inscription of V.S. 1209; Early Chauhan Dyn., D. Sharma, p.211; Rajasthan through the ages, D.Sharma, p.326.
 4. Pratangarh Inscription of V.S. 999-1003, Cf. E.I.V., XIV, Kiradu Inscription of V.S. 1209; Sevada Inscription of V.S. 1308, R.C.Agrawal, Cf. I.H.Q. V.36, pp.17-20; Two Inscriptions from Sevada, D.Sharma, Cf. I.H.Q., V.36, p.265. Rajasthan through the ages, D.Sharma, pp. 326-331.

like talara, kottapal or baladhina; impost on forests mines, quarries, on wells and other means of irrigation etc.

Thus the rulers seems to have a good share in the produce of the territory to fulfil their other obligations.

The smallest unit of the territory was gram (village) which was very important from the point of view of land revenue. The official of the village who helped in the realisation of revenue and other taxes was termed Gamagamika¹ Mahattara or Mahatamma in the earlier period but towards the close of 12th century, he was termed as gramik, gramirdh,² navak or thakkur. These designations of the officials seems to have continued upto 15th century.

MAINTENANCE OF LAW & ORDERS:

To maintain law and order in the state, the rulers were assisted by different officials, who were posted in the cities, towns and the countryside. These officials were not only required to maintain law and order and implement the rules and regulations of the state, but also assisted in the realisation

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1. Kafor Inscription of V.S. 1016; Pratihara Adm., R.S.Tripathi Cf. E.I., V.3, p.263.
 2. Ojha Nivandh Sangrah, V.2, p.200 Cf. Grant of Samant Amritpal of V.S. 1242; Abu Inscription, Cf. E.I. V.16 VV. 46-52; Maharana Kumbha, Somahi, p. 167.

of revenue, imparted justice and in time of danger had to accompany the rulers in the battles.

¹
TALARAS:

The official incharge of the town or city was known as talar. He used to guard the town or city under his charge, to maintain law and order, to give facilities to trade and commerce, and to look after the general welfare of the people. The offenders or criminals were also caught and punished by him.

²
KOTTAPALA or DURGADHIPATI: He was officer incharge of kotta (fort). He performed both the military duty as well as the police duty. He was the head of the military contingent posted in the fort, and the defence of the fort was his primary duty. The jurisdiction of Kottapala was not limited to the fort alone but also to the territory adjoining it. He maintained law and order in his jurisdiction and punished the culprits.

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1. Sevada Inscription of V.S. 1308, Cf. I.H.Q. 1960 V.36 No.4 p.265. Two Inscriptions from Sevada Rajasthan, D.Sharma, Chirwa Inscription of V.S. 1330; Rajasthan through the ages, D. Sharma, pp. 326,342,361,206. Kanhaddeprayandh, p. 170. Administrative Institutions of Mewar in the Pre-Mughal Times, R.G.Sharma, Cf. Proc. R.H.C. 1967, p.45.
 2. Kanhaddeprayandh, p.69, Ekling Prasashti, V.S.1330; Pratihara Adm., R.S. Tripathi Cf. I.H.Q. 1933, V.9, p.123; Rajasthan through the ages, D.Sharma, pp.335,345,346; History of Hindu Medieval India, C.V.Vaidya, V.2, p.232.

As regards to the judiciary, the information is very meagre for this period. The official, who imparted justice was known ¹dharmadhikarana and assisted by Brahmanas (pandits) those who were well versed in Hindu dharmastras. However, in the villages the cases were decided by ²panchkulas (committee of five). The panchkulas registered the grants of the villages, the granting certificates of sale and concession to traders, farming out villages, collecting the revenue of the state etc. Similarly in the towns we find the existence of ³mahajan sabhas (assembly). These assemblies helped judicial officials in their work and suggested ways and means for the welfare of the people of towns. The consent of this assembly was also sought by the ruler for the levying of new taxes in town or city.

About the military administration, we do not find much evidence about the functioning and the checks and balances.

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1. Kanhaddevpravandha, p.159; Rajasthan through the ages, D.Sharma, p.343.
 2. Sivodani Inscription dates from V.S. 960-1025 Cf. E.I. V.I, pp. 120; Sevada Inscription of V.S. 1308; Rajasthan through the ages, D.Sharma, p.343, 350, 351. Administrative Institutions of Mewar in the Pre-Mughal times, R.G. Sharma, Cf. Proc. A.H.C. 1967, p.45.
 3. Godvad Inscription of V.S. 1172; Nadol Inscription of V.S. 1200; Juna Inscription of V.S. 1352.

We find the mention of military designations of the officials, without their powers and jurisdictions. The important military officials were designated as ¹ maha Senapati, dandanayak, pilpati, aswapati, dandpati, sainyapati, kottapala, baladhikrila etc. whose duties are not mentioned in the sources of the period.

THE RAJPUT ADMINISTRATION DURING THE MUGHAL PERIOD:

After the establishment of Mughal sovereignty over Rajasthan, the Rajput rulers imitated the Mughal administrative system in their own states. They not only introduced the Mughal pattern of administration and institutions but also borrowed the Mughal administrative terminology. The service by the Rajput rulers in the Mughal court as mansabdars in different capacities, provided them the opportunity to learn and understand the Mughal system of administration quite intensively. Besides it several areas in Rajasthan were under the direct administration of the Mughals as the crown-lands (Khalisa), which provided the incentive to Rajput rulers to adopt the system, prevailing in those territories. Further the Rajput rulers adopted the Mughal pattern of administration in their own states, to bring the subordinate jagirdars, pattadars,

1. Rajasthan through the ages, D. Sharma, pp. 331, 710.

bhumias, thikanedars, (feudal lords)¹ in the same position vis-a-vis to them, what Rajput rulers had vis-a-vis to the Mughal emperors.

During the Mughal period the administration of Rajput states was changed tremendously in each and every field and the change was more or less in uniform pattern in all these states. The officials of the Rajput states were as follows:

(1) Pradhan:- The prime-minister of the state was generally termed as Pradhan² in almost all the Rajput states e.g. Mewar, Jodhpur, Bikaner, Jaisalmer, Amber and Bundi, though in Sanskrit inscriptions some times he was mentioned as Mahamantri.³ Under Mughal impact he was also termed as Musahib⁴ in the states of Jodhpur, Mewar, Bikaner and Amber, while Kamdar⁵ in the state of Doongarpur. The Pradhan was the highest official of the

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1. Under the Mughal impact the feudal lords of the Rajput nobles were also termed as Umras in the states. Cf. Suraj Prakash V.2, pp.99,174,181,262,282; Marwar RaPargana Ri Vigat, V.I, p.13.
 2. Goverdhan Nath Temple's Inscription of V.S.1679(Doongarpur) Bault Inscription, Cf. Vir Vinod, V.2,p.381; Dalpat Vilas, p.4; Raj Samudra Prashasti, Cf. Vir Vinod, V.2, p.596; Nensi, V.I, p.73; V.2, pp. 43,V. 3,pp. 155,157; Bankidas, pp.30, 98,119; Suraj Prakash, V.I,p.218. Tiwari Purohitii Ri Khvat, p.30, Ajitodaya, Canto 15,Verse 52; Vir Vinod, V.I, p.148, V.2, pp.251, 381, V.3, 822, 837.
 3. Jhunta Rai's temple Inscription at Amber of V.S. 1774; Raj Vilas, Canto 2, Verse 67.
 4. Vir Vinod, V.2, pp. 489,729, V.3, p.817; Arzdest of Bakhtmal and Kalvan Singh to Maharaja Jai Singh dated V.S. 1767.
 5. St. Dyson's Report, to Sir John Malcolm, Cf. I.H.Q. 1946, V.22, No.2, p.125; A. Memoir of Central India, John Malcolm, V.I, 547.

Rajput states and most trust worthy person was appointed to this post. His main function was the general administration of the whole state. In the absence of the ruler (as the Rajput rulers served at Imperial court) he was the incharge of all affairs of the state. Besides the general administration, he also took part in the military expeditions and used to serve Imperial court, in absence of the ruler from the court. All the grants made by the ruler were attested by the Pradhan. In lieu of their services usually jagirs or pattas were conferred on them by the rulers. In the ceremonial processions of the ruler, he used to sit behind the ruler on the howdah of the elephant. In some states the office of the Pradhan was hereditary and passed from father to son.

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1. Marwar Ra Pargana Ri Vigat, V.I, pp. 92,102.
 2. Ibid., V.I, pp.6,86; Vir Vinod, V.3, p.837.
 3. Marwar Ra Pargana Ri Vigat, V.I,p.103; Suraj Prakash,p.218.
 4. Nensi, V.2, pp.155, 157; Tiwari Purohit Ri Khvat, p.3. Marwar Ra Pargana Ri Vigat, has detailed accounts of such pattas conferred in each and every pargana of Jodhpur State.
 5. Vir Vinod, V.3, p.729.
 6. In Maharana AmarSingh's reign Bhama Shah was the pradhan, After his death he was succeeded by his son Jiva Shah and remained pradhan during the reign of Amar Singh. Jiva Shah's son Akshai Raj was appointed pradhan during the reign of Maharana Karan Singh, after his father's demise Cf. Vir Vinod V.2, p.251. Similarly Bhag Chand Pancholi was appointed Pradhan by Maharana Jagat Singh and succeeded by his son Fateh Chand Pancholi in the office of Pradhan during the reign of Maharana Raj Singh Cf. Baoli Inscription, Vir Vinod, V.2, p.381; Raj Samudra Prashasti, Vir Vinod, V.2, p.596; Jaisalmir had 4 Pradhans of Bhati sub-clan, Nensi V.2, p.144.

(2) Diwani- After the Pradhan, the next important officer of the state was Diwan¹. The Diwan was the incharge of the finance of the state and head of the revenue department. He had all the information about the kinds of land, produce of land, division of land on the basis of proprietary right and the different cesses. The pargana officials, Hakim, Amil, Sanungo and Potdar etc. were under his direct control. In Marwar state the office of Diwan was created by Raja Suraj Singh,² who appointed Joshi Devdatt as Diwan in V.S. 1673, to look after the revenue department of the state. The office of the Diwan continued throughout the period and under Maharaja Jaswant Singh,³ Muhta Nensi was appointed Diwan in V.S. 1714, who had the full knowledge of state's different resources, as is evident by his work.⁴

However, it seems that the creation of the designation and the office of Diwan was not introduced by other Rajput⁵ states of Rajasthan in their administrative systems except the

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1. Jaswant & Udyot, p.82; Deval das Ri Khyat, V.2, p.159; Hukumat Ri Bahi, p. 154 (b).
 2. Marwar Ra Pargana Ri Vigat, V.I, p.103; Vir Vinod, V.3, p.817.
 3. Marwar Ra Pargana Ri Vigat, V.I, p.132.
 4. See for details Marwar Ra Pargana Ri Vigat.
 5. Marwar Ra Pargana Ri Vigat, V.I, p.103; ~~122~~ 132; V.2, p.94; Hukumat Ri Bahi, p.154; Jodhpur Khyat, V.I, p.276; Ajitodaya Canto, x 6, V.17; Barat Karar, V.S.1783, Jaipur Records, R.S.A. Bankidas, p.43; Hakikat Bahi, (V.S.1820-1830); Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p.126; Vir Vinod, V.2, pp.492; V.3, p.817; Some lights on the career of Raja Bishan Singh Kalhhwaha, K.R. Sanungo, Cf. I.H.C. 1948, p.170.

states of Marwar, Bikaner, Amber, and Mewar.

(3) Bakhshi:- Bakhshi was incharge of all the state forces. The commanders of the different sections of the army had to take his orders. He disbursed the pay to the soldiers ~~xx~~ and officers of the army; inspected the troops; gave promotion or demotion to the troopers. The viladars and thanadars were under his direct control. The office of Bakhshi seems to be introduced in the states of Marwar, Amber, and Doongarpur,¹ on Mughal pattern.

(4) Khan-i-Saman:- The incharge of the department of royal household was termed Khan Saman. The state karkhanas were under his control. He used to purchase all the articles of the states need, stored them under his supervision and provided them to the ruler whenever they were required. This designation was introduced in Mughal pattern and like Mughal system the Khan-i-Saman² of Rajput ruler accompanied him during his journeys and campaigns and all the court attendants and servants were under his control.

1. Marwar Ka Pargana Ri Vigat, V.I, p.78; Suraj Prakash, V.2, pp. 181,186; A letter to Maharaja dated V.S. 1752, Hindi letters concerning the Maharaja S.No.334 (R.S.A.); Vir Vinod, V.3, p.817; A Memoir of Central India, John Malcolm V.I,p. 548. Toil Records, of Jaipur state (18th c.) R.S.A.

2. Mughal Administration, J.N.Sarkar, pp. 24,25.

The office of Khan-i-Saman was introduced in Marwar under Maharaja ¹ Udaï Singh, and continued throughout the Mughal period in Marwar state; ² while for other states we do not find any evidence, though in 18th century the office of ³ Khan-i-Saman was in existence in Jaipur, Bundi and Kota states.

(5) Vakil:- The yakils were appointed by all the rulers of Rajput states irrespective of their closeness to the emperors. The yakil was the representative of the ruler at the Imperial court. ⁴ The office of vikalat was of very great dignity and was bestowed on a very trustworthy person. The main function of the Vakil ⁵ was to safeguard the interests of the ruler at the Imperial court and also to inform the ruler about the happenings at the Mughal court. He also noted down the increase in the

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1. Mughal Administration, J.N.Sarkar, p.26, Marwar Ra Pargana ki Vigat, V.I, p.78; Vir Vinod, V.3, p.817.
 2. Surai Prakash, V.2, pp.181,186; Haqiqat Bahi, V.6.1820-1830; Bhandar Papers, V.6. 1711-1725; Jodhpur Khvat, V.2, pp. 24,25, Pancholy Raghunath was Khan-i-Saman of Maharaja Jaswant Singh at the time of his death, Vir Vinod,V.3,p.817.
 3. Jaipur Administrative Report, 1922-26 A.D.p.44; Toil Records, of Jaipur State (18th c.) R.S.A.
 4. Nensi, V.2, p.149, Gopaldas, Jesawat Wasthe Vakil of Rao Singh of Bikaner at Mughal Court; Marwar R.A. Pargana ki Vigat, V.I, p.110.
 5. Vir Vinod, V.3, pp.740,748, Copy of the Surety of Vakil Bagmal of Rana Amar Singh, furnished to the Imperial court.

mansab of his ruler, the areas of jagir with all particulars of Jama and Hasil. The importance of the office of yakil¹ is testified by the letters of the yakils to their rulers.

The office of the yikalat was an innovation of the Mughal period in the Rajput states. We find numerous examples when yakils of the different states played a vital role in the politics at the Imperial court. Sometimes Vakil² were also appointed at the court of the provincial governors, but it was an usual practice for which we do not find much evidence in the source material.

Apart from the above officials Rajpandit, Prohitrai,³ royal physician, royal astronomer and royal genealogist were appointed by the Rajput rulers in their courts according to age old traditions.

THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD DEPARTMENTS:

Like Mughal system of administration the different articles of royal use were placed under different karkhanas and more or less Mughal terminology was borrowed for them. To cite only

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1. There is a large collection of Vakil Reports in Rajasthan Archives Bikaner both in Rajasthani and Persian languages, Rajasthan's Vakil Reports, S.No. 1-290; Marwar Ra Pargana Ri Vigat, V.2, pp. 93,95.
 2. Studies in Medieval Indian History, S.R.Sharma, p.204.
 3. Surai Prakash, V.2, pp. 15,92,132,148,186; Davaladas Ri Khvat, V.2, p. 159.

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case of Mewar state, it had the following important departments.

Kapardhdwar - The store of cloth and ward robes.

Rokardh ka Bhandar - The treasury for miscellaneous expenditure.

Hukamkharchi:- The department concerning the personal expenses
of the Makarana.

Silahkhana - The department of armoury.

Tambolkhana - The department of betel leaves under a Darogha-i-
2
Tambolkhana.

Panera or Abdarkhana:- The department of the royal drinks and
intoxicants under a Darogha.

Farrashkhana - The department dealing with the carpets etc.

Banduk ka Karkhana:- The department for keeping muskets, etc.

Similarly the department dealing with hunting excursions
of the ruler was placed under the charge of Amir-i-Shikar
3
commonly termed as Mir-Shikar.

TERRITORIAL DIVISION:

From the point of view of the proprietary rights, the
4
land of the state was divided basically into three divisions i.e.

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1. Bankidas, p.100; Vir Vinod, V.I, pp.149,213,214.
 2. Vir Vinod, V.I, pp. 121,142.
 3. Suraj Prakash, V.2, p.207; Abhayvilas, f.28a; Khichi Gangey Newayat Ro Dopahro, p.13.Cf. Rajasthan Sahitya Sangrah, V.1.
 4. Vir Vinod, V.I, pp.136, 137; V.3, pp.1027,1051. Marwar Ra Purgana Ri Vigat, V.I, pp.165,168. Nensi, V.I,pp.41, 42,52; A Memoir of Central India, John Malcolm, V.2,p.70. Suraj Prakash, V.2, p.207.

(a) Khalisa (crown land):- Under the direct control and administration of the Rajput rulers, where land revenue and other cesses were imposed by the rulers and realized by their officials.

(b) Punvarth or Dharmadas:- These lands were rent free grants made in charity for the maintenance of temples or Brahmans and were generally termed as Sasan lands. These grants were also revokable,¹ but if they were not revoked then they ~~was~~ passed to the holder's successors on hereditary basis.

(c) Jagirs (land-grants):- The jagirs were conferred on the nobles (feudal lords) and officials in lieu of their services to the state. Those jagirs (land-grants) which were conferred in lieu of services were rent free holdings but the holder (jagirdar) couldnot mortgage or sale such lands. Such jagirs could be kept till the temure of the service. In Mewar state such jagirs were termed as kala-patta.² Generally the holder of such jagirs were termed, Patavats.

Second type of jagirs (land grants) were those which were made on permanent basis and termed as bhom.³ and the holder as

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1. Marwar Ra Pargana Ri Vigat, V.I,pp. 78,81; V.2,pp.439,461, 463.
 2. Vir Vinod, V.I, p.136.
 3. Ibid., V.I, p.136.

bhomia. These jagirs were like the zamindari holdings of the Imperial court. Such holdings passed on hereditary basis. However, the rulers had the right of confiscation of such grants. Generally the holder of such jagirs were termed thikenedars.

Regarding the application of administrative system, the whole state was divided into parganas, the parganas further into ¹mahals, and the mahals were divided into villages ² (mauzas or gams) ³.

PARGANA ADMINISTRATION:

After the central officials of the state, next category of the officials, belonged to the pargana level. Among the pargana officials, the incharge of the pargana was designated hakim.

(1) ⁴HAKIM:- He was the incharge of pargana and was appointed by the ruler in consultation with diwan, and held the office

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1. Nensi, V.I, pp.52,53; Marwar Ra Pargana Ri Vigat, V.I,p.203.
 2. Arsatta Pargana Chatsu, V.S. 1721.
 3. Marwar Ra Pargana Ri Vigat, V.I, & II.
 4. Ibid., V.1, pp. 107,110,119, V.2. p. 7,8; Nensi, V.2, p.130; Havlat Bani, V.S. 1820-1830; Vir Vinod, V.I, p.149.

at the pleasure of the ruler. His main duties were to collect¹ revenue, to maintain law and order and to take expeditions against the rebels. He used to be stationed at pargana head quarter. All the towns, forts (garh, kot) and military posts (thanas) situated in the pargana were kept under his direct² supervision. To decide the cases of various natures of the people of pargana, he used to hold his court, (diwankhana).³ He also informed the ruler from time to time about the produce of the pargana and the general conditions of the people. In some parganas he was designated fauzdar⁴ or amil, or Amin.⁵

(2) THANADAR:- Thanadars⁶ were the military officers posted at military bases or thanas. The main function of the thanadar was to defend the area from the rebels or enemies, but during the peace times he assisted hakims in expeditions against the rebels, collection of revenue and in maintaining peace, law and order in the pargana. The number of thanadars in a pargana

1. Marwar Ra Pargana Ri Vigat, V.I, pp. 120, 129.

2. Ibid., V.I, p. 119; V.2, pp. 7,8,61.

3. Ibid., V.I, p.390; V.2, p.309.

4. Ibid., V.I, pp. 77,102; Arsatta, Pargana Chatsu, V.S.1721.

5. Ibid., V.I, pp. 73, 106.

6. Ibid., V.I, pp. 103, 118; V.2, pp. 7,8,61,63; bankidas, p. 15.

varied on the basis of military bases. In V.S.1690, the Pargana of Phalondi in Jodhpur state had two thanadars namely¹ Bhati Achaldas Surtarot and Bhati Sakat Singh Khet Singhot.

(3) QILADAR²: The officer incharge of a fort was designated qiladar. The main duty of the qiladar was to defend the fort at the time of enemy's attack and to make provisions for the inhabitants of the fort. The qiladars were appointed by the ruler with consultation of Bakshi. The qiladars of the pargana were kept under the subordination of hakim.

But the qiladar of Royal capital was kept under the subordination of bakshi only.

(4) KOTWAL³:- The officer incharge of cities and towns to maintain peace and public security was designated kotwal. He implemented the regulations in the urban areas. The principal duties of the kotwal were to check crimes and to punish the criminals, to regulate prices, weights and measurements, and to keep watch at night. The building possessed by the kotwal for his office and residence was known as Imarat-i-Kotwali.⁴

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1. Marwar Ra Pargana Ri Vigat, V.I, p.118.
 2. Bankidas, pp. 13,73; Vir Vinod, V.2, p.252; Nensi, V.2, p.165, Marwar Ra Pargana Ri Vigat, V.2, pp.306, 307. Pratap Singh Mohkam Singh Ri Vat, p.51. Cf. Rajasthan Sahitya Sangrah, V.2.
 3. Raj Vilas, Canto 3. Verse 131; Marwar Ra Pargana Ri Vigat, V.I, p.123.
 4. Mutfarriq Maharaigan B.N.I, document No.163, Shaban 38th R.Y. of Aurangzeb; Vakil Report B.No.8 document No. 224, 35th R.Y. of Aurangzeb.

Usually it was situated in the centre of the town. The kotwali¹ contained a chabutara (chotra), where the kotwal used to sit and hold his court. The office of kotwal in Rajasthan was identical with that of Mughal administration.

(5) Potdar or dotdar:- Potdar² or dotdar was the designation of the treasury officer of pargana. The main work of the Potdar was, to deposit the money in the treasury which was collected by the revenue collectors of the pargana and then to transfer it to the state treasury. For the service of potdar, a tax was also collected from the peasants along with the realization of land revenues termed as potdari.³

(6) sanungu:- The sanungu⁴ was the permanent repository of information concerning the revenue receipts, area statistics, description of pattis and tafas, local revenue rates and practices and customs of the parganas. In V.S.1630 records of measurement of land and assessed revenue were recorded by⁵

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1. Waga-i-Aimer, V.I, p.233; Mutafarrig Maharaigan, L.No.I, document No.163, 38th year of Aurangzeb; Vakil Report, B.No. 9 document No. 977 of Aurangzeb's reign, Marwar Ra Pargana Ki Vigat, V.I, p.569.
 2. Haqiqat Bahi, V.S. 1820-1830; Arsatta Pargana Chatsu, V.S. 1721; Vir Vinod, V.3, p.817; Inscription on Raja Jagganath Kachwaha's Chhatra, Cf. Vir Vinod, V.2, p.268.
 3. Marwar Ra Pargana Ki Vigat, V.2, p.93; Arsatta. Pargana Chatsu, V.S. 1721.
 4. Arsatta Pargana Chatsu, V.S.1721, Marwar Ra Pargana Ki Vigat, V.I, p.164; V.S. pp.77, 86, 269, 370, 373; 413; Hauala Bahi, V.S.1906; Yaddast, of Maharana x Jai Singh reign Cf. Vir Vinod, V.3, p.733.
 5. Marwar Ra Pargana Ki Vigat, V.2, p.77.

Sanungo Rup Chand and Harbans for Merta pargana of Jodhpur state.
Similarly in V.S. 1719¹ the revenue details of Jodhpur pargana
were recorded by Sanungo Maheshdas.

The number of Sanungos in a pargana seems to ^{have} be depended
upon the division of pargana into pattis, where each patti
had its separate Sanungo. The pargana of Merta was divided
in nine pattis,² thereby having nine Sanungos in the whole
pargana. A fixed share of certain casses and a lump sum at
the time of harvest, was probably the remuneration of Sanungo,
as is evident by the sources.³ The Havala Bahi of V.S. 1906
mentions that the Sanungo received Rs.6/- at the time of harvest,
Rs.7/- or a share of khoda and Rs. 1/- for lekha (writing) from
each village.

Besides the above mentioned officers the officers of others
designations⁴ like shiedar, Tahvildar, Kendar, Huzdar, Munshi,
karkun, peshdastara, Musharraf, Tapehdar, Havaldar, etc.
were also appointed in the pargana, whose duties and functions
are not discussed in the contemporary sources. However, these

1. Ibid., V.I, p.164, V.2, p.428.

2. Ibid., V.II, pp. 86,485.

3. Havala Bahi, V.S. 1906; Arsatta Pargana Chatsu, V.S.1721.

4. Kamtha Ri Virat, & Cf. Marwar Ra Pargana Ri Virat, V.2.
pp. 565,589,592; Nensi, V.2, p.96. Hankidas, pp.33,34;
Davaldas Ri Khvat, V.2, p.159; Havala Bahi's V.S. 1901-
1939; Vir Vinod, V.2, p.269, V.3, p.817.

officials constituted a large section of subordinates to assist the higher officials. In V.S. 1723 Diwan Muhta Nensi recorded¹ the number of officials in Merta and Jodhpur pargana as Hukmara 200, Karkun Ra, 50, Peshdashara 40, Hukmara Paidara, 100 is Siwara, Jaitaran, Phalondi and in Sojhat pargana the number was Hukmara 100, Karkunra 50, Peshdashara 30, excluding the other servants (chakar).

VILLAGE OFFICIALS:

Since the villages (mauza) was the smallest unit of² administration, therefore certain officials were appointed at village level. The chaudhry, Patel, Mukhia, Patwari and chaukidar, were the important officials of the village administration. Among these officials, Patwari had the duty of recording the crop of the fields of the village while others helped only in the realization of land revenue. The offices of chaudhary, Patel or Mukhia were hereditary, who were usually paid from the levy of the village cesses.

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1. Tiwari Purohitji Ki Khyat, p.43.
 2. Arsatta Pargana Chatsu, V.S. 1721; Nensi, V.I, pp. 215, 313, V.2, p.109; Marwar Ka Pargana Ki Vigat, V.I, pp.108, 565, 583, 587, 589, V.2, pp. 39, 63, 63, Suraj Prakash, V.2, pp. 178, 301; Havala Dahi, V.S. 1800, 1806, 1811; Vir Vinod, V.2, pp.253, 269; V.3, pp. 1050, 1051.

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Besides these officials there were also Bhumitvas, who generally belonged to Rajput caste, and were given some rent-free land, in return of this they were entrusted with the duties, to keep watch in the village, to escort state officials from village to village and also to transport the collection of money from the village to pargana headquarter. Along with rent free grant they were also provided with some money in the form of cesses.

SOURCES OF REVENUE:

The revenue system varied from state to state, though the basic division of land remained almost uniform under the heads of ² Khalisa, jagir, Sasan or dharmada in all the states of Rajasthan. Apart from the customary presents to the rulers in the form of neota, neochhabar and pashkash on different occasions, ³ the main sources of revenue were the land tax and cesses in the rural areas, while taxes on merchandise and trade in the urban areas. But the nature of these taxes varied from time to time and state to state. The ⁴ dastur-ul-amals of the

1. Havala Bahi, V.S. 1811.

2. Marwar Ka Pargana Ki Vignat, V.I, & V.II, Nensi, (for sasan) V.I, 41, 42, 106, 174, 179; V.2, 38, V.3, 281; Vir Vinod, V.3, pp. 1027, 1050, 1051, 1080, Marsatta Pargana of Chatsu, Malarana etc. of Amber state; Haqiqat Bahi, V.S. 1820-1930.

3. Please see Chapter III.

4. Dastur-ul-amal was the compilation of old rules and regulations which was approved by a ruler at time his accession.

17th century clearly indicate the variations. Even in two ¹ parganas of the same state we find variations in the nature of taxes. The principal taxes prevalent among the Rajput states were as follows:

(1) Land tax (² bhoga, ³ Mal, ⁴ Hasil, barar):-

The land revenue exacted on behalf of the state was termed as bhog or Mal in the Mewar and Jodhpur state; hasil in Amber, Jaisalmer & Bikaner state, barar in Doongarpur and Banswara. The terms hasil and barar were borrowed from Mughal terminology. This tax was realized by the state officials in the khalisa land directly from the peasants with the help of village (mauza) officials. The methods of assessment and realization varied in the state. Like the Mughal revenue system,

(Continued from the previous page)

This provided the guide line to state officials, according which they mainly levied and collected land revenue and other taxes - Khwaja Yasin's Glossary of Revenue and administrative terms.

1. Marwar Ra Pargana Ri Vigat, V.2, pp. 80,97.
2. Lag bag file No.202 (R.S.A.). Marwar Ra Pargana Ri Vigat, V.1, pp. 73,82. Nensi, V.1, pp. 39,256; V.2, pp. 5,6,8, 206; V.3, p.54. Bhog was termed in Marwar as Kharch-bhog Cf. Marwar Ra Pargana Ri Vigat, V.2, pp. 330-339.
3. Arsatta Pargana Chatsu, V.S. 1721, Nensi, V.1, p.74,99; V.2, pp. 5,8, Bat Levji Bagdevati Ri, p.8. Cf. Rajasthan Sahitya Samgrah, V.2, Vir Vinod, V.2, p. 269.
4. Vir Vinod, V.3, pp. 1002, 1003.
5. The batai (division of the crop), lata (thrashing out the corn on the spot); kuta (assessment of standing crop) and Zabt (tax after measurement) were some of the systems of assessment which varied even among the villages of the same pargana Cf. Marwar Ra Pargana Ri Vigat, V.1, 2, pp. 89,90,91,96,97.

Mughal revenuesystem, The assessed revenue was termed Jama while actual collection was termed hasil in almost all the records of the period belonging to different states. Normally the state derieved, its share at the rate of 1/6th of the produce.

(2) Rekh:-

The land revenue realized from the fief lands (pattas,¹ jagirs) was termed Rekh, in the these states. The practice of levying rekh on jagir lands in Marwar started during the period of Mota Raja Udai Singh and continued throughout the period. The same practice might have continued in other states.

(3) Dan:-² The term Dan was used for all types of taxes levied on articles and other merchandises³ goods. This tax was levied in the urban areas and the shopkeepers as well as carriers of the goods had to pay the tax at different times e.g. transport, sale. Sometimes this tax was also called mapa.³ Generally mapa tax was realised at the time of sale and purchase. In addition to dan or mapa, the outsiders⁴ traders had to pay another tax termed as biswa (1/20th part of the

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1. Nensi, V.I, pp.64,69,116,165, V.2, pp.160,263. Marwar Ra Pargana Ri Vigat, V.I, p. 90,91,94; Marwar Ka Itihas, B.N. Reu, V.2, p. 627.
 2. Nensi, V.I, pp.156,158,173; V.2, pp.7,46,76,129, V.3, p.64.
 3. Lag bag file No. 202 (R.S.A.); Marwar Ra Pargana Ri Vigat V.2, p. 324; Vir Vinod, V.3, p. 1080.
 4. Lag bag file No. 2/4 (R.S.A.); Marwar Ra Pargana Ri Vigat V.2, p. 324.

commodity in the form of tax). The ¹amal-dastur of pargana Pokaran gives a detailed list of state taxes levied on the sales of goods and the custom charges on the import and export of the articles, which were termed as Bab. In Jaisalmer state ²the tax on different articles was also termed Bab and bahati-bandh or rahdari, one of the important tax in the state, levied on the persons, passed through the territory with merchandise goods.

(4) ABWABS OR BABS (CESSERS):

Besides the above mentioned taxes, which were levied in all the states, under the right of share in the land produce by the rulers, a large number of other allied taxes were also imposed upon the peasants, traders and the artisans. These allied taxes differed in terminology as well as in the nature of assessment and realisation not only in the different states ³but even in the parganas of same state. In Amber state such taxes were termed as mapa, hasilbori, ghaskatai, hasil-kamini, patwara, gam sumari fauzdari, tahvildari, charai (grazing tax), johunnari (house tax), tulai (measurement), bhent (salam) etc. In Jaisalmer state, these taxes were termed as taksal (coinage)

1. Marwar Ra Pargana Ri Vizat, V.2, pp. 324-327.

2. Nensi, V.2, p.8; Havala bahi, V.3. 1906.

3. Arsattas of Amber State (pargana-vise) from V.S. 1721.

4. Nensi, V.2, p.8.

bahativandh (toll tax), gharsumari (house tax), milanra (festival tax) gulara peshkashi (bhent), tulabat, (weighing) parchun nat, khatri, etc. In Marwar state, we find a long list of such taxes which varied even in the different parganas. The principal taxes of Jodhpur pargana were ¹ serina, bal, kadhah ghas, rasat, dhumalo, pancharai, likhavandhi, farchin, talwana ² milanrdho, khichro, while the taxes for the pargana Siwana and Jaitaran were Serino, ghiai, balra, pancharai, shiodari, dhumalo, sandhiya ri ginati. Similarly the taxes of pargana ³ Merta were huzdar ri bal, dawatpulia, kagal path, sutaghordhi, phardhudhavandhi, khardha and potdari.

Thus a large number of taxes allied to the agriculture were levied in the states of Rajasthan, to equip the state treasury. The Mughal administration seems to have affected the states of Rajasthan tremendously in the field of taxation, where not only Mughal terminology was introduced but also a variety of new taxes Abwabs (cesses) were levied, generally termed babs. The introduction of new taxes seems to be implemented by all the states of Rajasthan; even in the tiny state of Doongarpur and Banswara there were about 22 heads of collection

1. Marwar ka Pargana ki Vigat, V.I, p.158; V.2, p.98; Havala bahi, 1900-1911.

2. Ibid., V.I, p.160.

3. Ibid., V. 2, pp. 92,93.

or rather of extortion. The important taxes¹ of this region were barar (fixed land revenue), Jeyt (a payment for Rawal's retainers and for the payment of salaries of tahsildar); koonwar Sookri (Rawal's eldest son's meal expenses); Kemdar Sookri (for the expenses of Kemdar); Laggut Karkun (for the payment of govt. officers); oodhara (for payment for troops); ratib-ghora (for the feeding of royal horses); bhatti, khulal (on liquor shops); pandur-tukkah (for the expenses of royal drummers); paurah burar (a collection for the sacrifice of buffalo on Dashahara festival); servarut (festival charge); seruphul (for the supply of coconuts during Holi festival); wagah (for the maintenance of royal ward-robe deptt.); Sirputora (for the maintenance of Rani's wardrobe deptt.); and paundra, ghora-charai, chara, dulaulee, russera, dupghur etc. The above mentioned taxes suggest the nature of burden on the peasants cultivators and labour class (raiyyat) during the medieval period.

ARMY ORGANISATION:

Regarding the formation and existence of standing army in the Rajput states, we do not find much evidence in the contemporary sources. It seems that they used to keep a very small army or regular troops to be kept as bodyguards or to defend

1. A Memoir of Central India, John Malcolm, V.2, pp. 70-72.

the royal fort of the capital and the seat of administration. While to serve the Mughals along with their contingents, they largely depended upon the supply of army contingents by the chief-holders (jagirdars, or thikanedar).

As far as the formation of army organisation is concerned we do not find any basic change in the system and the traditional army organisation continued. where the army was comprised of infantry, cavalry, camelry & elephants.¹ However, it seems that under Mughal impact, a large number of officials were designated in Mughal terminology and probably their duties too were defined on Mughal pattern.² These army officials were designated as amiladar, thanadar, silehdar, Jillahdar, chopdar, abdar, charbadar, barkandaz, topachi, risaldar etc. whose functions were probably defined. The inclusion of topachi particularly suggest the introduction of new branch of armoury in the Rajput forces directly under the Mughal influence. This branch of artillery included several types of fire arms locally termed rahkala³ (bigger guns usually drawn by the horses or bullocks), dagi Boh, kahak bandh, hathnalivan, nalivan, top, etc. Certain Mughal

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1. Suraj Prakash, V.I, p.126.
 2. Suraj Prakash, V.2, pp. 136,138,139; Marwar Ra Pargana Ri Vigat, V.I, pp.68,87,102,138,183; V.2, pp. 306,308, also Cf. appendix 6 of Jodhpur Ra Ohadara Ri Vaddast, pp.482-483.
 3. Suraj Prakash, V.I, pp.18,19,20,29,30,128, 204,294,302, 308; V.2, p.169,266-275. Marwar Ra Pargana Ri Vigat, V.I, pp. 68,87,138, V.2, p.308. Dalpat Vilas, p.64; Hauquat Bahi V.S. 1820-1830.

armaments were also incorporated among the weapons of the Rajput forces due to the result of a large number of presents made to the Rajput rulers by the Mughal emperors in the form of daggers, swords, shields, muskets etc. on different occasions, which were copied by the Rajput rulers and introduced in their own forces.

The defensive dresses of the Mughal warriors were also included by the Rajputs in their own forces. The khud,
dabalghat or ¹top (a steel head piece), ²bakhtar or bagtar (coat of mail sleeves of steel), zirih (coat of mail of steel over the body from neck to knee) were some of the new innovations in the Rajput forces under the Mughal impact.

The Rajputs also learnt the art of warfare and used to arrange their troops according to a specific plan, which was altogether absent in the earlier period. The vanguard of the troops was termed harool (harawal); the rear of the forces chandol and the division of the forces on the sides as bajun
³vihahee. The arrangement of the forces in a specific plan before battle was also the result of Mughal tactics of warfare. As regards the supervision of the army, the entire force was

1. Suraj Prakash, V.2, p.104; Siaha Bakhshi, Shamlat Records B/No. 233 (Jaipur Records) R.S.A.

2. Suraj Prakash, V.2, pp. 104, 266, 358.

3. Ibid., V.I, p.204; Raj Vilas, Canto 8, V.102; Raj hatnakar Canto, 7, Verse 15.

divided into different branches, which were supervised by different heads of the army, all of the whom were placed under the general supervision of Bakhshi.

WINGS IN THE ARMY:

The main branches in the armies of the Rajput states during the Mughal period were paidal (infantry), sawar (cavalry) shatur khana (camel corps), philkhana (elephant corps) and ¹topkhana (artillery).

The troopers of infantry were called paidal or pyadas in general while those who used matchlocks or muskets were termed bandukchi or barkhandaz and those who used bows and arrows were called tirandaz.

The cavalry was the most important wing of the army, whose trooper was called sawar. During the 'Mughal period the sawars were categorised on the basis of the horses they used, and were paid accordingly. In Jaipur state the salaries of the ²sawars of different horses were as follows:

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1. Suraj Prakash, V.2, pp.135-139, 262, 266, 267-275, 361; V.3, pp. 1-5, 19, 30.
 2. Jama Kharch Ahainai, Shamlat Records, V.S. 1786 Bundle No.233 (Jaipur Records), R.S.A.

<u>Horse</u>	<u>Salary of Sedar</u>
Kalara	Rs. 20/-
Tazi	Rs. 16/-
Rasmi	Rs. 14/-
Padir	Rs. 13/-
Jangli	Rs. 10/-

The classification of the sawars on the basis of horses, seems to be the influence of Mughal army, where the horses were classified for ascertaining the salaries of the sawars. Muster rolls of the permanent army personnel, including garrisons in the forts and thanas were prepared under the direct supervision of Bakhshi, but not of those who formed the quota of thikanedars (jagir jamivat). The horses of the army were¹ branded and like the Mughal army regulations, the amin, darogha and mushrif were appointed in this department to perform the aforesaid job.

All the premier Rajput states maintained camel corps² (shuturkhana), which were particularly more necessary and important in states of Bikaner, Jodhpur and Jaisalmer due to desert region.

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1. Jama Kharch Dagh Ghora Mulazim Yaddasti, V.S.1791, Shamlat Records B.No. 233 (Jaipur Records), R.S.A.
 2. Surai Prakash, V.2, pp. 137,262; V.2, pp.5,30.

The artillery wing (topkhana) was consisted of different types of canons. This wing was headed by bakhshi-i-topkhana¹, who was assisted by darogha-i-topkhana and mushrif-topkhana. The gunners were called golandaz. This wing was the outcome of Mughal influence in the army organisation.

The strength of the philkhana (elephant corps) seems to be very small as we find only two designations of the officials in this wing i.e. pilwan and darogha-i-philkhana², while lacking in other informations.

INTELLIGENCE SERVICE:

The Rajput rulers employed spies in pro-Mughal period who were termed, heru, hera, halkara, othi³ in different states. The main work of the spies was to collect information about enemy's movements and also the real strength of the enemy's army but probably they were not supposed to give information about the internal administration of the state. The barids⁴ were also appointed as carriers of letters from one place to another.

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1. Papers Tankhadar Pargana, V.3, 1756 (Jaipur Records) R.S.A. Marwar Ra Pargana Ri Vigat, V.2, p.482, See appendix 6. Jodhpur Ra Ohdadara Li Yaddast.
 2. Ibid., V.2, p.482; Surai Prakash, V.2, p.136.
 3. Marwar Ra Pargana Ri Vigat, V.I, pp.115,137; V.2, pp.4, 52,53,482,483; Surai Prakash, V.2, p.61.
 4. Nensi, V.3, p.9; Marwar Ra Pargana Ri Vigat, V.I, pp.139,142.

During the Mughal period, under the Mughal impact of administration, the Rajput rulers organised the intelligence departments in their respective states and appointed walia navis¹ and khufia-navis to furnish them the informations of internal affairs of the state as well as the functioning of different administrative officers of the parganas. While the harkaras remained in service like the earlier period mainly to supply the information about external agencies. These harkaras were primarily the couriers, though they also acted as wandering informers and sometimes sent very valuable information. No doubt, these harkaras must have been quick footed, reliable, resourceful and of extra-ordinary intellect. This is testified by the letter of sawai Jai Singh to Maharana Amar Singh of Udaipur about Rajput rising of 1707, 1710 A.D. after the appointment of Syed Abdullah Khan as subadar to suba Ajmer. The letter of Jai Singh dated 22nd Dec. 1708 contains the information, "our harkara left Abdullah Khan Saiyyid at Burhanpur and with him are the qildar of Jodhpur, Amber, and Merta. If he enters Ajmer then all will be lost and matters would become difficult, hence in my opinion he should be intercepted." Similarly in later period a harkara was sent to spot the Marathas, who were reported to be active near Mandisor, by the bakhshi³ of Jaipur state.

1. Marwar Ra Pargana Ri Vigat, V.2, p.482, Cf. Jodhpur Ra Ohdadaran Ri Yaddast, appendix 6; Siakhkhufia reports of Amber parganas (Jaipur Records) R.S.A.; Papers Tankhadar Pargana, V.S. 1756 (R.S.A) Vir Vinod, V.3, p.817.
2. History of the Later Mughals, W. Irvine, V.
3. A Letter of Hemraj to Bakshi Goreswar Singh dated 22 Dec. 1708 (Jaipur Records) R.S.A.

The detail^d account about the work of khufia-navis in Amber state is revealed by the contemporary records of the state. In Amber state khufia-navis was appointed in every pargana and drew the salary equivalent to potdar and kotwal and his salary ranges between Rs. 12/- ¹15/-. The main work of the khufia-navis was to² gather information through his agents about the administration of pargana, the daily happenings at the courts of pargana officials. He used to appoint his agents at the courts of amil (hakim), Kotwal, faucdar and in the markets. As evident from siaha-khufia reports, the nature of informations collected by khufia-navis were of following types.

- (1) Whether the amil, amin, kotwal, or faucdar hold the court and how they did justice. The cases of bribes, wrong judgement and other such things were also reported.
- (2) Any important news or rumour^x that may disturb the normal functioning.
- (3) Information regarding the visit of any high officials in the pargana.
- (4) To give the information about the general condition of law and order in the pargana and the happenings of theft and murders.

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1. Documents, Tankhader Pargana, of V.S. 1756 (Jaipur Records) R.S.A.
 2. Siaha Khufia documents dated V.S. 1771 (Jaipur Records) R.S.A.

(5) Conduct of the officials towards the people (raiyyat) of pargana.

(6) To furnish information about the condition of agriculture, particularly about rains, famine etc.

Such as the khufia-Navis of pargana Vahatri¹ (Amber state) reported on Savan Sudi 7, V.S. 1771 about the pargana.

"Amin's gumasta and amil did not hold darbar'. It is being informed.

"News had reached him that the Mutsaddi of mauza Mahesra of pargana Dausa have been killed."

"There was great scarcity of rain in the pargana so 'rolwai' had been remitted on ploughs."

"This may please be noted."

Similarly the other Rajput² states might have also introduced the intelligence service on Mughal pattern like Amber state, to ascertain the efficiency of their respective administrative system and the general condition of the people.

1. Siaha Khufia of V.S. 1771 of pargana Vahatri and phagi (Jaipur records) H.S.A.

2. Marwar ka Pargana ki Viskat, v.2, p.482. Appendix 6. Jodhpur ka Ohadadaran ki Yaddast contains the designation of Wagia-Navis, Halkara Ro Darogo, and Halkara among the list of officials.

CHAPTER VI

THE ARCHITECTURE

Religion and art are expressions of culture in two different ways. Among these perhaps the art is more sensitive indication of change. It is the architecture among the art, which displays the cultural inheritance to a great extent. Therefore, a study of architecture is essential to understand the cultural developments of a particular period and region.

The building activities of the Rajputs in the pre-Mughal period were of two-fold nature which can be placed in two categories, viz:

- (a) The sacred architecture i.e. the construction of the temples for the worship of different Gods and Goddesses;
- (b) The defensive architecture i.e. the construction of forts (garh) for the defence of their territory at strategic points in their states or kingdoms, which also included the palaces, stores, reservoirs, baolis etc.

However, it was the sacred architecture, which dominates, in the field of architecture in pre-Mughal period. During this period a large number of temples¹ were constructed in different parts of Rajasthan belonging to Hindu and Jain faiths. These temples were constructed on the principle of

1. Ancient cities & Towns of Rajasthan, K.C.Jain, pp. 394-418; 434, 44, 443, 449; The Temples of Rajasthan, H.B.Pal, pp.8-10, 13-16, 31, 34, 37, 58, 67; Indian Architecture, (Buddhist & Hindu Period) P.Brown, pp. 114-117.

trabeate and corbelled method, where the pillars, capitals, brackets and lintels were used in different structures of the building. The roofing of the cloisters of the temples were of trabeate style and flat type, while the central apartment of the temple (garbhagriha) was roofed through the corbelled technique, resulting into, the shape of a pyramidical roof (Sikhara).¹ The continuation of both trabeate and corbelled styles of architecture in the construction was in vogue on traditional pattern of ancient Indian architecture. The temples ~~into~~^{of} the 8th century were the crude ~~ix~~² imitation of Gupta and western chalukya style. But from the close of ^{the} 8th c. to the close of ^{the} 12th c. new form developed in the ~~xxx~~ temple architecture, during the period of Pratihara Imperialism, where the bee-hive like temple spires (sikhara) in place of pyramidical ones, short shaft pillars with large scale sculpture developed in the style. In sculpture, figures of human beings, kirtimukhas, hansas, animal figures, and floral motifs were most popular. The different varieties of sandstone were used for construction purposes and we do not find use of any plaster in these buildings.

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1. History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, James Fergusson, V.2, pp. 148-150, Indian Architecture, (Buddhist & Hindu Period), Percy Brown, pp. 115, 116.
 2. The Temples of Rajasthan, H.B. Pal, p.89; Indian Architecture, P. Brown, pp. 114, 117. Indian Architecture, E.B. Havell, p.98.

From 12th to 15th century again we find the dominance of sacred architecture, where the Rajput rulers continued the old practice. As a result of this practice in the capitals of Rajput kingdoms, a good number of temples were constructed. The temples of Kukabeshwar Mahadev, Digambar Jain, Ekolingii, Sringar Chauri, Satbis Deori and Kumbhshyam at Chittor, are important temples of this period. They are very crude in finish, unmethodical in proportion and without expression. But the temples (Sringar Chauri, Satbis Deori, Kumbhshyam, Varah) of Maharana Kumbha's reign (15th c.) are better monuments throwing light on the temple architecture of this era. They are all constructed of almost gray sandstone and in structural form comprised of garbhagrih, ardhmandap, sabhamandap, pradikshna path and crowned shikhras¹. The sculptures of this period are unproportionate in size, crudely finished and expressionless and decorated by heavy and excessive ornaments of low-class tastes. The human figures predominate in sculpture along with floral and animal motifs. However a great change is found in the structural architecture of the roof, where oval shape is given to the ceiling of mandapas, which seems to be the result of the influence of Malwa Sultanate.

1. Rajput Architecture, G.S.Ghurye, pp. 50, 51, 52; History of Indian & Eastern Architecture, Fergusson, V.2, p.150.

At Jodhpur, Ghanshyam temple is one of the significant temple of this period along with a group of temples at Osia, Nagor and Nadol. The temples are having higher plinth; the essential structure of the temple architecture i.e. garbhagriha, ardhmandap, sabha-mandap and pradikshna path are contained in almost all these temples. The striking feature of these temples lies in the sikhras (spires) of temples, which resembles to those of early temples of Orissa. In decoration, the sculpture dominates the pillars, brackets, lintels and even the inner walls of the garbhagriha with the figures of human beings, animals and with floral motifs. The carving is profuse and is unproportionate like the Chittor temples of the period.

At Bikaner, the temple of Laxminarayan (close of 15th c.) and at Jaisalmer, the temple of Paraswanthji (15th c.) belongs to this period, among the capitals of the Rajput states. The stone of different varieties are used for building purposes and the trabeate style of construction was prevalent in and all these temples, while the corbelled style was particularly adopted in the construction of spires (sikharas) of the temples. The shape of the spire was determined by the corbel method of construction and which after attaining the height, limited the span. On the top the crown (amalak) binds the whole structure with its weight. The sculpture as usual prevails as chief form of decoration with traditional motifs of the figures of human

beings and animals, floral motifs of different types and the domination of the Hindu mythological scenes.

As far as the problem of civil or secular architecture is concerned we do not find much buildings of this period. The only available buildings at present are the forts of Amber, Chittor, Jodhpur, Bikaner and Luni, devoid of any civil buildings of this period except the fort of Chittor. In most of these old forts, the old buildings were replaced by the construction of new buildings in their place during the Mughal period due to lack of space inside the fortified walls. The result was this that at present we find only the buildings of Mughal period in these forts. The outer wall of the fortifications with the entrance gates are the only architectural remains of pre-Mughal period in these forts. These forts¹ are constructed of red and gray sandstone along with the use of quartzite. The walls are massive and solid, divided by the creations of round bastions and surmounted by battlements in the form of parapet of the wall. These battlements are of big size so that they may provide a cover to the defenders of the fort. Further the loopholes are also created in these battlements to be used to discharge the arrows by the defenders or

1. The Strongholds of India, Sidney Toy, pp. 84,88,91,93.

to pour hot oil over the besiegers. The entrance gates are constructed on trabeate method of construction i.e. the covering of the opening with the use of a massive stone beams, above which a small window as in the case of main entrance of Bikaner and Jodhpur forts. The side walls of the gates containing niches are decorated with sculpture.

The civil buildings of architectural interest of pre-¹Mughal period are the ruins of the palaces of Maharana Kumbha in Chittor fort. These are the darikhana, Surai Sokhardha, place of Johar and zenana Mahal along with the celebrated Kirtistambh, and six principal gates of the fort of Chittor. (Rampol, Bhairavpol, Hamumanpol, Chamundapol, Tarapol and Laxmipol). The Kirtistambh stands on a plinth of 42 feet square which is of a height of 12 feet. The height of the ²stambha over the plinth is 122 feet. The whole structure ~~is~~ is consisted of nine storeys with the openings at every face of each story and all the doors are colonnade porticos. Each storey is provided with light through the creation of latticed windows, in such a manner that the angles and recesses not

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1. Kirtistambh Inscription, Verses 42; Vir Vanod, V.I, pp.161, 161; Rajput Architecture, G.S.Ghurye, pp. 62, 64.
 2. ~~Archeological~~ Archeological Survey of India 1872-73, pp.104, History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, Fergusson, & V.2, p.150; A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, V.A. Smith, p.113.

intersected by staircase. The inner walls contain niches, which are utilised for status and other sculptural details. The exterior of the structure is divided into nine principal divisions each furnished with trabeate windows, hanging eaves or chhajias, while the eighth storey is significantly divided by oriel balconies on all the four sides, supported by four pillars on each side; and the ninth storey having the balconies of type of lower storey but not supported by the oriel base; and the top finally covered with octagonal small pyramidal dome. To give it a decorative effect horizontal bands are created in each and every successive storey. The sides of the windows of each and every storey along with the corners of the four sides of the structure are profusely decorated with sculpture. The contours and symmetry are perfectly maintained in this building, which denotes the perfection of the architecture of the period. The building is chiefly constructed of limestone and quartzite, and pilaster is also used in the exterior of the building.

The different palaces of the fort of Rana Kumbha's period chiefly the darikhana and zenana Mahal are not devoid of architectural details. The main components of these buildings are the rectangular pillars, capitals, lintels, kisks and the arched entrances. Significantly the arched entrances

seems to be the outcome of the influence of Malwa architecture of this period, though they are used in the structures with some sort of restrictiveness. The ruins of Rana Kumbha's ~~five~~ palaces and other buildings at Chittore, show Hindu balconies (Chhajia) and crested walls scattered over the terrace, kiosks covered with plain and segmented domes resting on lintels and columns.

However, one of the temple outside the fortress of Kumbhalmer of Rana Kumbha's period is of much interest from the point of view of architecture. This temple is consisted of a square sanctuary surrounded by a collonade on all the four sides. The columns of the collonade are round in shape in place of the rectangular ones used earlier in the buildings. The cornice (Chhajia) is of hanging type as prevelent in the period. But the ceiling of the main sanctuary is definitely against the norms of the established customs of the temple architecture. The ceiling is constructed on the arcuate style with a vaulted dome, though the phase of transition is altogether absent, in the sense of arcuate method of construction. The result is that the square is converted into octagonal base of the dome with the help of the stone beams in the corners of the square apartment. Thus it seems that the

1. History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, Morgusson, V.2, p. 45.

arcuate style penetrated in Rajasthan as early as in 15th century in the buildings. Though it is difficult to establish the influence of Delhi Sultanate or Malwa Sultanate in this field.

THE RAJPUT ARCHITECTURE DURING THE MUGHAL PERIOD:

The Mughal period can be called the golden period of Rajasthan from the point of view of the development of architecture. With the establishment of the Mughal sovereignty, Rajasthan did not only enjoy the period of peace but also the period of material prosperity; due to the increase of material resources of the rulers of the region throughout the period. Further due to the process of cultural give and take between the Rajputs and Mughals, the architecture of the period was considerably influenced particularly in the state capitals of the Rajput chiefs.

The building activities of this period can be grouped into three categories on the basis of the nature of the building viz.

- (1) The sacred architecture (temples)
- (2) The secular architecture (palaces, stores (kothars) reservoirs (talabas), Baolis (stepped wells) etc.
- (3) The Memorial architecture (Chhatris sati memorials).

(1) THE SACRED ARCHITECTURE:

The temples were the chief buildings in the sacred architecture of Rajasthan. The Rajput rulers of Rajasthan enriched their capitals at different periods by constructing the temples during the 16th and 17th centuries. In the state of Mewar, the centre of building activities changed the site from Chittor to Udaipur, which became the capital city of Ranas¹ during the Mughal period. The famous temples of Udaipur are Udayshyam, constructed by Rana Udaï Singh, Bhimpadmeshwar by the queen of Rana Bhim Singh, Ambika-bhavanī by Rana Raj Singh I, Jagdish and Jagannath Rai by Rana Jagat Singh. While the temple of Ratneswar and Mira Mandir are only two temples constructed at Chittor during this period. Almost all these temples are constructed on a high plinth and the entablature (garbhagriha) is situated in the rearpart of the whole structure as seen from the facade. The front of the square entablature is covered by one or two collonades as in case of Ratneswara temple and Miramandir at Chittor and Bhimpadmeshwar and Udaishyam temples of Udaipur. The collonades in these temples form the architecture of trabeate order supported by circular shaft pillars, surmounted by capitals, which bears the weight of the stone beam. The ceilings of the collonades are of arcuate style constructed on the principles of true arch, resulting into the

1. Vir Vinod, V.I, pp. 153, 155.

formation of true domes. These domes are crowned with amalakas like that of the earlier shikhras (spires) of the temples. However the main apartment of the temple or entablature is significantly covered with a shikhra ceilings in almost all the temples. But the shape and size of shikhara is peculiarly of Rajasthan's own individualistic style, developed during this period. The emergence of true dome in the temple architecture seems to be the result of Mughal influence, which was probably incorporated in the temple architecture to relieve the monotony of shikhara as well as to bring symmetry in the building, since the domes created in the structure are not of equal size. The decoration also changes under Mughal influence, when the parapets in the walls are created with merlon or battlement designs along with the use of geometrical motifs in the carving of pillars and brackets. The use of perforated screens to cover the lower parts of the architrave in the colonnade, are again seems to be borrowed from Mughal architecture.

The Jagdish temple at Udaipur, constructed in 17th century seems to be influenced by Mughal architecture from its plan to structure. The plinth of the temple is increased considerably on the pattern of Jama Masjid of Mughal period. The whole area around the plinth is closed with a wall on all the sides. The main entrance is provided on the north side. The entrance is of trabeate type but the porch of the gate is

having a wagon vaulted roof or bent vaulted rood, which was the peculiar feature of Mughal architecture of Fatehpur Sikri. To bring symmetry to the whole structure the main building of temple is flanked by two similar but smaller buildings on its right and left side but at equal distance. The height of the Central building is increased by the super-imposition of the collonade in the first storey over the ground floor. In shape and size, the sikharas continues to be of Rajasthani style. But the change in plan as well as in structure was the result of Mughal features of architecture, though the trabeate and corbelled method of construction are basically applied in this building.

The two important temples of Jodhpur belonging to this period are Chamshyam temple and Anandghan's temple constructed by Maharaja Jaswant Singh and his father Maharaja Gaj Singh¹ respectively in the 17th century.

Both these temples are constructed on a regular plan. The usual plan on which the structure of temple is arranged consists of a square entablature (garbhagriha), a porch (mandap) and a roofed collonade surrounding the temples. The plinth is unusually high in these temples and the multifoliated arches of Shahjahan's period are applied in the adjoining entrances

1. Marwar Ka Itihas, B.N.Reu, V.I, pp. 209,330.

to the main entrance. The kiosks, eaves, use of pillars and brackets, remained as usual in the structure. The other feature probably taken from the Mughal architecture is the use of perforated screens to cover the windows, where geometrical designs of Shahjahan's period prevails.

The main temples of Bikaner belonging to this period are Har Mandir, Bhaironji, Laxminarayan, Devadwara, Karniji (at¹ Deshnok) and the Jain temple of Neminath. The temple of Har Mandir was originally constructed by Rao Rai Singh, though completely rennovated later on. The structure of the temple is over a small cella, which is richly gilded and capped by the oblong pyramidical vaults, characteristic of the period. The decoration suggest the influence of Akbar's period in the carving of lotus, resettes, peacocks and parrot motifs. The star cartoches and arabesques represent the variety of so called akbari doors. The temple of Bhaironji & Neminath belong to the same period, and are constructed on usual plan of entablature, collonade and spires. The decoration of the main spire (sikhra) with miniature spires (siphtras) on its four sides is the new development in the temple architecture of this place.

The decoration is found on the sides of the entrances and on the interior walls, pillars and brackets. The introduc-

1. Bikaner Ka Tikhas, G.H.Ojha, V.I, p.43.

tion of arabesques of purely Indo-Muslim type in these temples, is the result of Mughal impact. The temple of Laxminarayan was initially constructed by Rao Lunkaran towards the beginning of the 16th century but renovated in the 17th century. The colonnade is constituted of short columns with simple cross corbells. The domes are the prototypes of the Mughal domes of the 16th century, which suggest that the renovation of the temple was not later than the beginning of the 17th century. The domes are constructed on the principle of arcuate method of construction and are oval domes as found in the Akbar's period.

The oldest temple of Karni at Deshnok was erected in the reign of Rao Sur Singh. It is two storeyed sanctuary, surmounted by a fluted central dome, which is in turn, enclosed by smaller fluted lotus domes and oblong dome vaults inspired probably^{by} the style of the tombs of Deccani rulers. The columns, brackets and the capitals are carved with traditional pattern of figures of human beings animals, floral motifs, bell and chains.

The other important temple is of Devidwara in the fort. The ceiling seems to be the work of 18th century, while the entrance hall to the temple court with its pointed wall decoration, the pillars having the capitals of elephants heads,

seems to be the product of the 17th century belonging to the ^{reign} regions of Rea Sur Singh and Karan Singh.

Jagat Siromani temple and Shiladevi temple are two important temples of Amber belonging to the close of the 16th century. The temple of Jagat Siromani was constructed by Rani Kankavati W/o Raja Man Singh in memory of her son Kunwar Jagat Singh. It is constructed on a raised plinth, and having a huge structure like a palace. The rear of the structure is having a spire (sikhra) while the front of the entablature is three storeyed in height. The entrance gate of the temple is constructed by the minaret or tower like structures, divided into five divisions on both the ends. After the fourth division both the towers are connected by the placement of stone beams, the centre of which is decorated with the creation of a kiosk. The terminals of these towers are formed in the shape of miniature spires. The colonnade on the side of the main entrance is constructed purely of trabeate order with the help of rectangular pillars, brackets and stone beams. The ceiling is flat and the parapet is merlon type like the Mughal buildings of the period. It is an unique example of Rajput architecture. The whole structure is constructed of white marble. The Mughal influence is visible in the arabesques, merlon parapets, and in true dome in front of the spire of the temple. Though the originality of the temple architecture is

retained in this structure even then the Mughal influence is visible in composition and different decorative details.

The temple of Shiladevi is also a contemporary temple of Jagat Sironani at Amber, which was constructed by Raja Man Singh. It seems that this temple was rennovated later on because we find multifoliated arches, floral motifs on the spandrils of arches, slender and tapering pillars of Shahjahan's period.

Besides the above temples, the Lutharya temple at Jaisalmer; Nilkantha temple at Kota; Sun temple at Jhalawar; Charbhua, Laxminthi and Hansdevi temple at Bundi are some of the good examples of the temple architecture of the period. Almost all of these temples are constructed on the traditional pattern of temple architecture. The Mughal influence is visible only in the construction of domes, arched/recesses and tapering pillars in these temples.

SECULAR ARCHITECTURE:

During Mughal period the great emphasis was laid, by the Rajput rulers, on the construction of royal palaces, court halls, pleasure pavilions, and reservoir etc. This period was a period of peace and prosperity and the resources of the Rajput rulers had increased manifold in comparison to earlier period.

However, the building activities of the rulers were limited to the state capitals only.

The first influence of Mughal architecture seems to be at Amber the capital of Kachhwahas. The city of Amber is precisely a grand grouping of imperial buildings. The main building of Amber is the palace. The palace is approached by means of a fine staircase and through an imposing gateway. The two halls with in the square are Diwan-i-Am or the hall of audience. The details of this place are interesting. In some respects they contrast favourably with those of Akbar's contemporary palace of Fatehpur Sikri.

The approach to the palace from the town is by five gates, the passages are wide and tall. The outwall is battlemented. The battlements has square loop holes for musket fires. The facade of the palace is richly decorated and full of architectural details. The structural appearance of the facade suggests the domination of arcuate style. The central entrance is a vaulted recess, comprising of a pointed arch of Akbar's period. To give a two storeyed effect in the facade, two arches on each side of the main entrance are created, over

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1. Indian Architecture, (Islamic period). Percy Brown, p.113; History of Indian & Eastern Architecture, Fergusson, V.2, p.177. The History of Fine Art in India & Ceylon, V.A.Smith p.87; Influence of Islam on Indian Culture, Tara Chand, p.252.

which the oriel balconies are provided. At the level of ceiling the side walls are covered with octagonal domes while the main entrance is surmounted by a wagon-vaulted roof. The perforated screens to cover the side arched entrances, the merlon type battlements in the parapet and the domed roof are some of the features of Mughal architecture. However, the decoration by means of creating a range of small niches in the facade according to traditional architecture is maintained. The presence of multifoliated arch in the main entrance gate suggest that, it is of later period because multifoliated arches were originated during Shahjahan's period. But the interior of the palace reminds the memory of the buildings of Fatehpur Sikri, where the shafts, capitals and brackets of the pillars, resembles in toto with Akbari architecture.

Facing to the palace, is the building of Diwan-i-Am¹; The building is consisted of a portico or collonade of double row of columns supporting a massive entablature. These columns are of sandstone. Inside the collonade is a splendid rectangular hall surmounted by a dome, which is supported by marble pillars of the interior. The pillars are almost of the same style as found in the Diwan-i-Am of Agra fort with the exceptions of brackets only. The domed roofs are curved one which became

1. Indian Architecture, Percy Brown, p.118; The History of Fine Art in India & Ceylon, V.A.Smith, p.99.

a peculiar feature of Rajasthan. There is also a beautiful latticed gallery for the ladies of the ruling house. The latticed work also resembles with that of the latticed galleries of the so called Jodh Bai's palace of Fatehpur Sikri.

Beside the palace and Diwan-i-Am, there are also two other buildings of importance, *e i.e.* Zanana Mahal and Baradari. In both these buildings the shafts of the pillars are of Akbari type and the ceilings are vaulted. The arches are pointed and even the niches created inside are arched ones in place of trabeate type. It seems that the buildings at Amber might have been executed by the ~~xxx~~ masons trained in the Akbari style of Architecture.

In the kingdom of Mewar, the civil architecture developed and flourished at its new capital Udaipur. Among the earliest buildings of Udaipur Bari Mahal¹ is significant, which was constructed by Rana Amar Singh I. The whole structure is five storeyed stone edifice, while the fifth storey's upper portion is constructed of marble. The trabeate and corbelled windows, flat roof and trellis screens are important features of this building. The pillars, brackets and the beams are heavily carved with different motifs of sculpture.

1. Nensi, V.I, p.33; Les Indes des nadias, L. Rousselet (Eng.) p. 278.

The palace of Jag Mandir, Mohan Mandir, Zanana Mahal, were constructed by Rana Jagat Singh I. Naya Mahal, Parvati Vilas and Karn Vilas are the buildings belonging to Rana Karan Singh's period which stand in the original form and shape while Manak Mahal, Bhim Vilas, Moti Mahal and Dilkushan Mahal are¹ rennovated partly by the later Ranas. Apart from these buildings a large number of structures known as Silahkhana, Raj Angan, Neka Ki Chaurar, Pandey ki Ovari, Bardhi Chitrasali, Panera's Nauchaukia and Nakkarkhana were also constructed during this period.

The palace of Jagniwas was built by Rana Jagat Singh in white and black marble. The use of Bengali bent cornice, cusped and multifoliated arches, domes, kiosks, balconies and open terraces are arranged according to structural and decorative needs. These arches, domes and terraces with the use of latticed work are clear indications of Mughal architecture's influence. The interior walls are decorated with ~~fox~~ fresco paintings, again based upon Mughal pattern of decoration.

The other palace Jag Mandir was constructed by Rana Karan in Pichhola lake of Udaipur for the stay of prince Khurram. The cusped arches, slender pillars, perforated screens and domes are the peculiar architectural features of this palace. The

1. Vir Vinod, V.I, pp. 151,152,156.

creation of a range of kiosks for decorative purposes is another important feature borrowed from Mughal architecture. In decoration the earliest trace of pietra-dura is also found in the interior of this building, where particularly the figures of peacock are studded with precious stones. Probably it was from here that Shahjahan took the inspiration of pietra dura decoration, which became the significant mode of decoration in Shahjahani architecture.

The other palaces are the creations of late 17th century or early 18th century and seems to be the proto-types of Shahjahan's ~~his~~ buildings. The Dilkusha Mahal and Moti Mahal are full of Mughal architectural details like arches, squinches, spandrils, domes and the decorative motifs. The decorative motifs are purely Mughal and sculpture is almost negligible in these buildings. The Bengali bent cornice and Bengali bent roof is adjusted between the spherical domes to create a skyline and to bring symmetry to the buildings.

The gardens and fountains were also added in these buildings on Mughal pattern by the successive rulers.

The rulers of the state of Bikaner were not behind in the field of building activities with that of Amber & Udaipur. The original grand plan of palaces of Bikaner follows approximately the pattern of Mughal palaces. Rao Rai Singh was the earliest ruler of this state, who took deep interest

in building activities. The buildings of his period¹ are Suraj Pol (of the fort); Karkhana Kalan, Har Mandir, Sur Mandir, Chambara and Hazuri Darwaja. The buildings of Phool Mahal, Chandra Mahal, Gai Mandir and Kachahari are attributed to Maharaja Gaj Singh. Karan Mahal and Sujan Mahal were constructed by Maharaja Anup Singh and Sujan Singh respectively.

Almost all these buildings are constructed of red sandstone or lime stone. The doors are covered by too heavy pilaster and in the sides niches are created. The walls are covered with battlement parapets. The pillars are of Mughal type while the corbel support brackets are sculpture with decorated heads of elephants, figures of peacocks or hansas. Sometimes these animal figures are used as brackets between the beam work. The ceilings are flat and sometimes domed. Whenever the domes are created, they are created on the method of squinch supports.

The Hazuri gate of Bikaner fort has an arch of Khalji type i.e. round or horse-shoe fringed arch.

The Karan Mahal of Bikaner is probably the best example of Mughal influence. This building was erected by Maharaja Anup Singh towards the close of the 17th century in memory of

1. Bikaner Ka Itihas, G.H.Ojha, V.I, p.45; The Art & Architecture of Bikaner State, H.Goetz, pp. 43,62,71,73.

his rather. From general appearance Karan Mahal looks like the true copy of Diwan-i-Khas and Rang Mahal of Delhi, though the structure is smaller one. The shafts and the capitals of the pillars of this building are identical with that of Diwan-i-Khas. The hall is divided by cusped arches and the wooden ceiling rests on a broad cornice on all the sides. The decoration is in the form of arabesque and floral motifs.

Anup Mahal and Sujan Mahal are spacious buildings with large court halls, constructed with the help of tapering pillars. The cusped arches are identical with that of Karan Mahal. But the composition of the hall is made with help of two rows of pillars. The niches and arches are purely Mughal derivations of Shahjahan's period. The Bengali bent cornice and bent vaulted roof are also favoured in the composition of these buildings.

Zorawar Mahal, Shish Mahal and Rang Mahal are later constructions and are influenced by later Mughal architecture.

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The civil buildings at Jodhpur constructed during Mughal period are Toran Pol, Sabha Mandap, Diwan Khana, of Raja Gaj Singh's period; Moti Mahal of Sur Singh's period; Fatehpur, Gopal Pol, Diwan Khana, Khwabrah and Langshala of Maharaja

1. Marwar Ka Itihas, B.N.Rev, V.I, pp. 209,230.

Jaswant Singh's period, and Gateh Mahal of Maharaja Ajit Singh's period. Almost all these palaces are dominated with Mughal features except the traditional use of trabeate ceiling and brackets in the formation of roof and projected eaves. The cusped arches, slender and tapering pillars, latticed windows, vaulted roofs, kiosks, and Bengali bent cornice and bent vaulted roof are the chief features found in these buildings. The sculpture is maintained in the formation of the brackets. The domed roofs are purely arcuate in method of construction and the use of squinches in the structure is applied in larger field. The layout of the gardens and fountains in the plan of these buildings is significantly a Mughal contribution in the civil architecture of this place.

The building activities in the states of Bundi, Kota, Kishangarh, Doongarpur and Banswara were relatively at a small scale due to the limited resources of the rulers of these states in comparison to Amber, Bikaner, Jodhpur and Udaipur. However, Chatra Mahal at Bundi, Zanana Mahal at Jaisalmer, Shahi Vilas at Banswara reflects the Mughal influence on the civic architecture of these places, where arcuate method of construction was employed in place of trabeate and corbelled methods, though the Mughal influence in other architectural details is negligible. The palaces of Kota and Kishangarh are the works of late 17th century or 18th century, constructed by copying the Mughal architecture of Aurangzeb's period.

Later in 18th century Deeg in Bharatpur and Alwar produced the rare and very impressive architecture of the region, where each and every detail of Mughal architecture is fully achieved in the construction of different buildings, both in plan, lay out as well as in the styles of the architecture,

Among the fort architecture of Medieval period, the
¹
present fort of Bikaner presents a suitable example. This fort was constructed by Rao Rai Singh of Bikaner on a regular square plan. The fortified wall is strengthened by the creation of nine bastions on each side, to keep a close watch on the adjoining area. The fortification, seems to have been based on Akbar's pattern. The walls are slightly slanting, though not so much as under the Khalji's or Tughluq's. The battlements are broad and less prominent than the earlier centuries. But the bastions at the corners and centre of each facade are comparatively broader and higher than the others. The entrance to the fort is through the gate Guraj Pol. The entrance is constructed by providing a deep arcuate recess; covering the entire area with the vaults. The emergence of arcuate entrance is definitely an influence of Muslim architecture. Since the recess is not constructed on the principle of half domed recess, which was prevalent among the

1. The Art & Architecture of Bikaner State, H. Goetz, pp. 68, 69.

Mughals, therefore the influence does not seem to be of the Mughals.

The same type of architecture is almost followed in the fort construction by other Rajput states with slight variations of the height of walls, the positions of bastions and the formation of entrances.

MEMORIAL ARCHITECTURE:

The memorial architecture of Rajasthan includes the construction of Chhatris and Mahasati monuments of Medieval period. These chhatris and Mahasati edifices were constructed on the mortal remains of the dead rulers and their queens (particularly those who committed Sati). In other words, these buildings conveyed the same idea as the tombs convey in the Muslim architecture. The construction of memorial structures (chhatris) among the Rajputs seems to be the effect of cultural synthesis between Mughals and Rajputs. Because the earliest buildings of this type begin to make their appearance after the Mughal contact, during the 16th century. These buildings were constructed at the place of cremation of the corpse of the deceased and contained inside only the ashes. Therefore, strictly speaking they do not possess the mortal remains. While among Muslims tombs, the mortal remains ~~xx~~ are buried inside the main apartment of the structure.

In Rajasthan every native capital has its Mahasati or place where the rulers of the state and their nearest relatives are burned with their wives. Mostly such places are situated in a secluded place at some little distance from the capital city. The place¹ of cremation at Bikaner is known as Devikund, which is at distance of about five miles from the city. Similarly ²Ahadh was the place of cremation near Chittore, Gangodbhav near Udaipur and Mandor near Jodhpur. The earliest Chhatris at Devikund is of Rao Kalyan Mal of Bikaner, at Gangodbhav that of Amar Singh I of Mewar.

The general pattern of construction of Chhatris in Rajasthan was to construct a raised platform of stone at the place of cremation where in the centre of the platform a square or circular collonade or porch was constructed with the use of pillars, which were surmounted by a domed roof. The terminals of the architrave of the pillars were decorated in the exterior by the creation of the drooping eaves (chhajja) on all the sides of the collonade. Generally in decoration the shafts, brackets, beams of the architrave and the octagonal base or drum of the dome were carved with sculpture or with arabesques. But a few variations were retained, in the architecture of memorial structures, by the individual states of Rajasthan.

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1. Bikaner ka Itihas, G.H.Ojha, V.I, p.48.
 2. Vir Vinod, V.I, p.158.

At Amber the sepulchre of Raja Man Singh is most elaborately carved and constructed on the pattern of newly evolved style of such types of the buildings. The porch is constructed with the use of pillars and significantly the pillars are tapering ones, and are twelve in number. From plinth to top the grace of the building is achieved by its plainness. The ceiling is domed one but from the style of architecture it is corbelled and not arcuate. The whole structure is made up of stone. The carving of the pillars is in geometrical patterns and the brackets are of elephant heads, like the carving of the buildings of Fatehpur Sikri.

The oldest Chhatra at Bikaner is of Rao Kalyan Mal. It is constructed of stones and bricks. On a large terrace there is a small platform for the main structure. It is consisted of four pillars. The lower parts of the shafts are quadrangular while the upper the octagonal. The architrave is of beams and above the dome is corbelled based on the principle of cross corbels. The drum of the dome is decorated with battlemented frieze.

The finest museums of the 17th century are the chhatris of Raja Karan Singh (died in 1675 A.D.) and of Raja Anup Singh (died in 1698 A.D.) of Bikaner. These chhatris rest on 16 pillars, which support a high central dome, four small corner

domes and four dome like oblong vaults along the axes, with in the common frame of surrounding eaves (chhaia) and battlement frieze. In Karan Singh's chhatra the pillars grow from leaf motive bases; the lower portion of the shaft are quadrangular and are covered with plantain leaf motifs, the upper shafts are decorated with flower motifs. In Anup Singh's chhatra the shafts of the pillars are fluted. The beams of the architrave, the spandrels of arches are decorated with arabesques of Shahjahan's period. The shape of dome and arches are also characteristically borrowed from the architecture of Shahjahan's period.

The Chhatra of Sujan Singh belongs to early 18th century and is purely based on the Mughal style of architecture of Aurangzeb's period i.e., the heavy bellied columns decorated with fleshy lotus petals, the cusped arches, fluted domes etc.

The musoleums of Jodhpur rulers seems to be less effected by the Mughal architecture. The classic example among the Chhatris of Jodhpur rulers is that of Maharaja Ajit Singh. At the centre of the pillared open hall rise four walls surmounted by a graceful and tall spire (sikhara) like that of the temples. On the four sides of the sikhara there are beautiful projected balconies in three stories one above the other, each supported on trabeate arches made up of four pillars. The top storey is roofed with a pyramidical roof. The general plan of the

musoleum seems to be derived from the temple architecture of the period and emphasis is laid on traditional form and style of architecture. The shafts of the pillars, brackets and capitals all are according to Hindu architecture of Rajasthan.

The musoleums at Gangodbhav (Udaipur) are numerous and of all sizes. The smallest chhatra of this place is made up of four pillars, surmounted by a domed canopy, while in the biggest structure the dome is supported by 56 pillars. The two important tombs of this place from the point of view of architectural details are that of Rana Amar Singh II and Rana Sangram Singh II.

The musoleum of Rana Amar Singh II possess 32 columns and smaller in size with compare to 56 columned structure of Rana Sangram Singh II. In other details both the tombs are more or less identical. The centre of the structure is supported by eight small pillars constructed at the ceiling level of the pillars of the ~~pit~~ platform. Thus a two storied effect is given by the infusion of eight pillars above the ceiling of the first row of pillars. The side portions along with the eight pillars are covered with flat roofs. The shape and construction of these domes seemes to be typically Mughal but of Akbar's period. They are not bulbous domes like the domes of Shahjahan's period. The decoration of the drums of the dome are typically Mughal

based on merlons and geometrical designs. However, the pillars, brackets, lintels, eaves are all according to the local style.

However the later musoleums of 18th century at Kota, Bundi, Kishangarh and Goverdhan of the rulers of Rajasthan, are the fine examples of the syntehsis of Mughal Rajput architecture, where the bulbous domes with pinnacles, bent cornice and bent vaulted roofs with cupolas and kiosks of Mughal buildings, are embibed in the architecture of the different buildings.

Thus it seems that the Mughal architecture considerably influenced the Rajput architecture of Rajasthan during the 16th and 17th century almost in all types of buildings. The impact is limited in the case of sacred architecture while in the case of civil and memorial architecture it is noteworthy as the study reveals.

CHAPTER VII

RAJPUT PAINTING

Since the times when Dr. Coomaraswamy introduced Rajput painting into the sphere of art and history, there has been a good deal of controversy about its relation to contemporary Mughal art. The word 'Rajput Painting'¹ was used by Dr. Coomaraswamy for the Hindu painting of Rajputana and the 'Punjab Himalayas. The term 'Rajput' was applied by him because the different schools of painting were patronized by the Rajput rulers. About the origin of Rajput painting, he believed it, as a descendant of the old classic art of Buddhism and early Hinduism adapted to changed demands.

There are two theories regarding Rajasthani² painting;³ the first is that it has an independent origin and growth; and the second is that it owes its greatness to its contact with Mughal miniatures as developed in the reign of Akbar and his successors. Both these theories seem to be partly correct if the painting of the period are observed minutely.

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1. Rajput Painting, A. Coomaraswamy, p.1.
 2. The word 'Rajasthani Painting' will be more suitable in place of Rajput Painting for the paintings of the region of Rajasthan.
 3. The chief propagator of this theory was late. Dr. A. Coomaraswamy, Rajput Painting, pp. 1-5; Indian Art, K. Bhārtha Iyer, p.74.

The fact that Rajput school developed as an independent school of painting in India without any contact of Mughal school of painting is approved by almost all the art historians. But the fact that the growth, development and maturity of Rajput school of painting, could be achieved only with the influence of Mughal school of painting seems to be true. Because it was after the influence of Mughal school of painting, that we find the developed school of Rajput painting in the sense of creative art.

The Rajput school of painting seems to be developed on the background of Western school of painting (also termed as Gujrati or Jain school of painting) which was in existence at the time of the origin of Rajput school of painting. The field of activity of the western school of painting, included the region of Gujrat, Malwa and Rajasthan. Economically this region was very sound due to trade routes leading to west coasts from North India and was flanked by Jain traders and merchants. Besides this the Jain kings of Chalukya dynasty of Gujrat also ruled the parts of Malwa and Rajasthan from 10th to 13th centuries. During this period a large number of Jain manuscripts were illustrated, which are found in the

1. Painting of India, Albert Skira, p.54; Rajput Painting, E.Gray, p.2; History of Fine Arts of India & Ceylon, V.A.Smith, p.204. The Art & Architecture of Mikaner State H.Goetz, p.97.
2. Painting of India, Albert Skira, p.54; Rajasthan Me Chitra-kala ka Kramik Vikas, Satya Prakash, Cf. Rajasthan bharti, V.8, No.1,2, p.12; Miniature Painting, L.K.A., p.9.

Jain Bhandars of Patan, Cambay and Jaisalmer. Upto the 14th century these illustrated MSS are on palm leaves, and after that on paper. The characteristic features of the illustrations of this period are the use of strong and coarse line and the energy and movements conveyed by the stance of figures and the disposition of draperies. The figures are seen either full face or in full profile, the further eye being allowed to project right beyond the cheek. Architecture and rudimentary backgrounds make an appearance. The perspective is linear and the foreground and background are unrealistic, where the trees, plants and flowers are created for decorative purposes. The use of colours is limited and only pink, yellow, red; and black colour are used. The figures of the human beings and other living beings are symbolic and the painters were not having any idea of light, shade, perspective and other such techniques. The famous ~~Mss~~ MS. illustrations of this period (upto 15th century) are Kalpautras, kalp^hachary, katha¹ etc.

In Rajasthan, the Rajput school of Painting originated at Mewar, the state of Guhilot Rajputs in the traditions of western school of painting. Because the earliest illustrated MS. of this school was again a Jain book of scriptures i.e.

1. Painting of India, Skira, p.58; Miniature Painting, L.A.S., p.10; Indian Miniatures, W.G.Archer, pl. 3-8.

SAVAGA PARIKAMANA SUTTA CHURAI¹, illustrated during the reign of Maha Nawal Tej Singh towards the close of the 13th century. In the same style SUPASANA CHARIAM², another Jain MS. was illustrated in the first quarter of the 15th century during the reign of Rana Mokul. The discovery of these MSS. suggest that the Rajasthani school of painting, originated on the background of western school of painting, which later on emerged as a distinct school with some of its own characteristic features. The depiction of human figures in these paintings is not realistic and the result is that the different parts of the body are unproportionate. The faces are neither full nor of full profile but are 2 2/3rd faces (Sava-chasm), having pointed and long nose, small chin, elongated eyes, where the inner eye is projected out the facial line. The formula of the human figure provocative and pert with an eager set of head, fastidious gesture and angular projections. The background is of generally brick red colour.

This tradition of book illustration seems to continue during the 16th century when a large number of MS. were illustrated more or less in the same pattern in the Mewar school

1. Painting of India, Skira, p.62.

2. Painting of India, Skira, p.62; Maharana Kumbha, Somani, pp. 288, 298; 'Rajasthan ke Chitrakala ke Krantik Vikas', Satya Prakash, Cf. Raj Bharti, V.8, No.1.2, p.13.

of Rajput painting. The famous book illustration of the 16th century¹ are Chaur Chandasika, Laur Chanda, Gita-Govinda Bhagvat-Purana and Razmala. The paintings of these MSS are certainly advanced with comparison to earlier paintings. The colour scheme changes and we find the use of light colours both in the background as well as in the composition. The architecture ~~is~~ takes special place in the general composition and plan of the painting. The human figures are according to old pattern i.e. with angular projections. However, ^{were brought in the figure scheme. The eyes} certain changes are big and almond shaped but the practice of projected eye discontinued; the nose is larger and pointed but not to the extent of earlier paintings. The waist of the ladies is generally very thin while the hips are extraordinarily heavier. The faces are generally full profile and the practice of depicting 2/3rd faces discontinued. In the dress of the male, the use of kulahdar turban and pointed coat (jama) of transparent cloth are the new features. These features seem to be under the influence of Malwa Sultanate.²

Pl.I

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1. Rajput Painting, B.Gray, pp.4,5; Rajput Painting, S.E.Lee pp. 14-18; Painting of India, Skira, p.63; Miniature Painting, L.K.A. pp.14,15; 'Rajasthan Men Chitrakala Ka Kramik Vikas', Satya Prakash, Dr. Raj Bharti, V.8, No.1,2, p.8.
 2. Painting of India, Skira, p.68; Miniature Painting, L.K.A., p.12. The dress in ~~xxxxxxxx~~ Rajasthani Painting is more or less identical to the dress of Laur Chanda paintings of Malwa school of Circa 1530 A.D., which suggest the influence on the later Rajasthani Paintings of the period.

The background and the foreground are full with details of Indian objects i.e. architecture of trabeate order where a great emphasis is laid on the pillars and animal head type brackets, the water in the foreground is generally with lotus flowers. The plants and trees are unrealistic and are infused in the painting particularly to bring their decorative effect.

In technique the uniform light effect is maintained in the whole painting. The perspective is linear resulting into the lack of depth, distance and proportion. Due to less advanced technique of colour and light effect, the day and night scenes are almost of the same colours and of same brightness. The only technique applied to distinguish between the night and day scenes is the use of symbolic representation of the sources of light i.e. fire, moon and stars and dark sky.

Pl. IV

The chaur Panchasika group of paintings depict the general pattern of paintings of the 16th century. In the general pattern, an open pavilion with a low cupola, a varandah hung with the Indian torna, a lotus pool, a flowering tree dotted with the white stars were included along with the subject in the painting.

This school of painting was not only flourished in Mewar but also extended to other states of Rajasthan towards the end of the 16th century. Luckily we find some Ragwala

painting of the second half of the 16th century, which throw important light on the development of the Rajput school of painting. It is difficult to say, whether Ragas were the outcome of poetic fancy or were derived from folk songs and mystic songs. According to traditional Hindu view, four sources are ascribed to Ragas. They are from popular local songs; poetic fancy of some of the musicians; devotional songs of the yogis and other worshippers and lastly the composition of the musicians.¹ The basic fact, however, lies in the close relationship of Rajput painting with the vernacular poetry, which flourished in the wake of Vaishnava revival. The time when these paintings were executed was surcharged with spirit of Bhakti.² The Rajput painters began to give visual expression to the Bhakti by a series of paintings, which were commonly designated as Ragwala paintings. Secondly the revival of Vaishnavism also influenced the paintings of Navak and Navika bheda themes where Krishna was symbolically represented the supreme God while Gopis to that of soul. The unity of the soul with the God was the chief object of the Vaishnav revivalism. Hence to put this idea

1.IV,V,
VI.

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1. Miniature Painting, L.K.A., p.16; Miniatures From the East, L.Hajek p.35; Representation of Musical Ragas, Moti Chandra Cf. J.U.P.H.S. 1947, pp. 1,2,20.
 2. Rajput Painting, Coomaraswamy, pp. 26,27; Painting of India, Skira, p.145; Miniatures from the East, L.Hajek, pp. 23-29.

before the people through the painting the painters developed the system of Navak and Navika bheda, which express the sentiments of love between the hero and heroine. The Rasmala paintings also could not escape from this influence and the result was in inclusion of the theme of Krishna and Radha's love in such paintings.

Thus from the point of view of themes the Rajput painting upto the 16th century were mainly in the form of book¹ illustrations or based on folk lore and mystic songs. The technique and composition of the painting of this period further suggest the ~~an~~ independent origin of this school without any link with the earlier school of Buddhist painting. The absence of three dimensional effect, aerial perspective, depth, proportion of the different objects and limited use of colours signify the independent beginning of the school. Because, had it been the offshoot of Buddhist school² of painting such elementary defects would not have occurred in the painting. In the Buddhist school of painting (Ajanta

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1. Coomaraswamy believed that Rajput painting has no connection with Book illustration, which seems to be incorrect opinion, Rajput Painting, p.3. We find already a large number of book illustrations belonging to this period.
 2. Dr. Coomaraswamy, believed about Buddhist origin, Rajput Painting, p.1; G.N.Sharma, also hold the same view, Some Aspect of Mewari School of Painting, Proc. I.H.C. 1954, p.273; Moti Chandra also ascribes to this view, Representation of Musical Ragas, Cf. J.U.P.H.S. 1947, V.20, No.1,2, p.24.

proscos) the three dimensional effect, aerial perspective, right proportion of the objects, depth, distance and a wide use of colours ¹ had already been achieved to the stage of perfection.

THE RAJPUT PAINTING DURING THE MUGHAL PERIOD:

During the Mughal period, the Rajput school of painting was quite popular in the region of Rajasthan. The main centres of this school were at Chawand (Mewar), Bikaner, Jodhpur, Bundi and Amber upto the middle of 17th century. But afterwards two new centres also developed with the establishment of new Rajput principalities at Kota and Kishangarh in the closing years of the 17th century. With the acceptance of Mughal sovereignty by the Ranas of Mewar, the period of hostility came to an end in the first quarter of the 17th century. The Rana's left and deserted the hill capital of chawand and settled at Udaipur. Thus the centre of painting was shifted in Mewar state from chawand to Udaipur.

The earliest paintings of the Rajput school of painting belongs to chawand. During the reign of Amar Singh II (Mewar) ~~most probably~~ probably around the year ~~17~~ 1605 A.D., a set of Ragnala paintings was painted at chawand by the artist Nisardi.

1. Indian Painting, Percy Brown, p.10.

Pl.II

The style of these paintings is unmistakably related to the Chaurpanchasika, Gita-Govinda and Bhagwat-Purana group of the earlier period. The main elements of the style are in general composition, the large areas of solid colour, the conventional and unrealistic representation of the sky and landscape, the arrangement of figures in linear perspective, uniform light ~~effect~~ effect. The night scenes have been depicted with traditional convention of the use of dark black colour in the background with white dots to suggest the night with stars. The treatment of human figures is unrealistic, the faces are broad but in full profile, the angular projections of the different parts of the body still favoured. The eyes are big and almond or fish shaped, the nose pointed and larger but with small ¹ chins. But the painter has succeeded in bringing the different expressions in the faces with the help of different postures of sitting and the forms ~~an~~ of hands and fingers. The dresses suggest the influence of some foreign court, where in place of traditional Indian dress, the pointed jamas of transparent cloth are used particularly in the male dress. The female dress remains more or less unaltered. The colour scheme, composition and the technique is certainly advanced in comparison to chaurpanchasika group.

1. Rajput Painting, Coomaraswamy, p.8. Representation of Musical Ragas, Moti Chandra, Cf. J.U.D.H.S. 1947, V.20, pp. 24,25.

After the reign of Amar Singh I, several illustrated MSS. have survived from the beginning to end of Jagat Singh's reign (1628-1652) and from the beginning of the reign of Raj Singh (1652). which clearly show the Mughal influence on different aspects of the painting.

Like chawand the other important centre of Rajput painting was Pali in Jodhpur state. We find a collection of Ragmala painting of ~~14~~ 1623 A.D. painted by an artist, named virji. The series of these paintings are again unaffected by the Mughal style like the Chawand paintings. These paintings continued the traditions of western school of painting with slight variations. The angular projections of the body are maintained, the faces are broad and heavier and comparatively larger than the body's proportion. The eyes are big and almond shaped, nose pointed but not too big. The expressions in the face are brought with the help of body gestures and the position of hands and fingers. But the idea of perspective and distance is altogether absent. The dress of ~~xxxi~~ male ~~xx~~ is similar to the Ragmala series of Chawand, showing a closer link with that school of painting.

Pl.II &
III

Thus it seems that upto the middle of 17th century the Rajput school of painting flourished in Kewar and Marwar without

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1. Miniature Painting, L.K.A., p.16, History of Fine Arts of India & Ceylon, V.A.Smith, p.205.

Mughal influence. The general characteristic features which developed during this phase further suggest the independent origin of this school. The themes of this phase include the book illustration, mythological scenes, mystic scenes and the Ragmala sets, which suggest the dominance of folk lore¹ and absence of aristocratic or court scenes unlike the Mughal school of painting. Generally the background of one single colour was pre-dominant in these paintings. The horizon being very near the upper margin of the picture and separated by a straight line from the rest of the background. In the foreground water with lotus flower became the typical feature, which is found in almost all the paintings. In the water² foreground a conspicuous feature was the strongly zigzagged margin of the water. The depiction of mountains and hilly areas by means of superimposed circles or arches was another important features of this school. The depiction of ~~the~~ trees and plants in decorative form to bring a contrast of the colours was also one of the feature of these paintings.

Pl.XV

Pl.IV
& V

Besides these the over^llapping of boarder by the figures, the pavilion background with peacocks on roofs, the typified figures of animals, falling rain drops, lightning etc. were

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1. Rajput Painting, Coomaraswamy, pp. 2,5,6, Indian Art Painting, P.Brown, p.20.
 2. Rajput Painting, Coomaraswamy, pp. 12,15.

the other peculiar features of the Rajput school of painting upto the middle of 17th century.

THE MUGHAL IMPACT ON RAJPUT PAINTING:

The Mughal impact on Rajput painting is visible after the middle of 17th century in technique, themes and material culture of the paintings.

In the second half of the 17th century, patronage at Imperial court began to decline, especially during the reign of Aurangzeb. The Rajput rulers seem to have employed many of the painters of Mughal school of painting in their local courts.¹ Some of the Rajput courts, Amber in particular, had already started the practice of employing those artists who could not be taken in Mughal court, in their own courts, even towards the close of the 16th century.² The Rajput rulers not only employed the painters in their courts but also started the practice of establishing court studies in Mughal pattern,³ where competent artists were employed on regular basis.

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1. History of Fine Arts of India & Ceylon, V.A.Smith, p.206.
 2. 'Rajasthan Men Chitrakala Ka Kramik Vikas', Satya Prakash
Cf. Raj. Bharti, V.8, No.1-2, p.15.
 3. Miniature Painting, L.K.A., p.14; Trends in Indian Painting,
M.Kaul, p.71.

During the Mughal period in the 17th & 18th centuries, the school of Rajput painting flourished in almost all the Rajput capitals and even to some of the ¹ thikanas of the thikanedars. In Rajasthan a larger number of paintings were painted, comprising of Ragamala series of different period, Navak-Navika themes, Bhagvat Puran, Ramayan, Sukar Khestra Mahatmya along with court paintings from the time of Rana Jagat Singh to Rana Amar Singh II, in Mewar; from Raja Gaj Singh to Jaswant Singh in Marwar; from Rao Kalyan Singh to Maharaja Anup Singh in Bikaner, from Rao Satrusal to Anirudh Singh in Kota; from Raja Man Singh to Sawai Jai Singh in Amber and from Raja Kishan Singh to Raja Rup Singh in Kishangarh. The paintings of this period appear to be greatly influenced not only by Mughal painting but also by the Imperial court fashions and customs.

TECHNIQUE AND STYLE:

The majority of the paintings were on paper. On the basis of unfinished works of the painting, the process of technique can be studied easily. The first sketch of the subject was made with brush in light red and very rarely on yellow, and over it was laid a white layer of very smooth nature. The subject of the painting was then redrawn often

1. Miniature Painting, L.K.A., p.18. History of Fine Art of Indian & Ceylon, V.A.Smith, p. 205.

with much modification in brown or black. Next the background, sky, trees and architecture were coloured leaving the figures white. Finally the figures were coloured and were given precision by a final outline in red or black and thus the painting was completed.¹ The same technique seems to continue during Mughal period as it is evident by the unfinished paintings of the period.

However, the style changed during the Mughal period and the most important change was in the realization of perspective. Before the Mughal contact the painters of Rajasthan painted the different objects of the painting in the linear perspective. With the Mughal influence the linear perspective was replaced by aerial perspective which brought the idea of distance, depth and proportion. The realization of aerial perspective could not be achieved in perfection without the use of light and shade. Thus the old practice of uniform light effect changed with the introduction of aerial perspective, resulting into the brightness of the foreground and darkness of the background.

Pl. VII,
XII,
XIII,
XV, XVI

Secondly apart from the introduction of aerial perspective, the two dimensional effect of the paintings was

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1. Catalogue of the Indian Collections, A.K. Coomaraswamy p. 20; Rajput Painting, Coomaraswamy, p. 4; Miniature from the East, L. Hajek, pp. 43, 44.

Pl. IX, X
XI, XII.

changed by bringing three dimensional effect on the pattern of Mughal paintings.

Pl. XVIII

The general composition of the painting was also effected considerably in depiction of trees, plants, flowers, soil, mountains and the architectural background. The trees, plants and flowers of decorative type gave place to naturalistic and realistic depiction under the Mughal influence. The soil and mountains or hilly areas were depicted with naturalistics colours, while the hills of Persian type paintings were borrowed by the Rajput painters. The architectural background of Indian type pavilions with pillars, brackets, eaves and flat roof, changed by the structural features of the Mughal architecture i.e. arches, domes bent vaulted roofs, minarets etc.

In the background the old method of showing the horizon and sky in a small patch of the painting by a clear cut line was left and in place of it the naturalistic sky line formed out from the background architecture, according to Mughal pattern.

The human figures, the animals and other living beings depiction was also changed in totality. The old art of Rajput painting of the magic world, where all men were heroic and all women were beautiful and passionate and sky, animals both wild and tame were the friends of men and trees and flowers

Pl.I,
IV,V.

were conscious of the footsteps of hero and heroine,¹ changed under the Mughal impact. The typified² faces of both human beings and animals changed to individualistic faces. However, the faces of the women remained more or less typified. The extra-ordinary big eyes and nose were replaced by proportionate eyes and nose in the human body. The anagular type projections of the body parts were given up and the realistic and naturalistic depiction of human figures developed in the Rajput painting due to the effect of the Mughal naturalistic school of painting.

Pl.XIV

Lastly the colour scheme of the Rajput painting also changed considerably under the Mughal influence. The Rajput painting borrowed the mosaic colour scheme from the Mughal painting in the composition of the works. The use of light, dark and a large variety of colours was also the effect of Mughal influence.

THEMES:

The subject matter of Rajput Painting prior to Mughal contact was based on folklore, mythology, religion and music. The Ragmala (musical modes) and Navika bheda (types of heroines) were much favoured themes of the painting.

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1. The Ideals of Indian Art, E.B.Havell, pp. 26,112; Rajput Painting, Coomaraswamy, pp. 71,72.
 2. Rajput Painting, Coomaraswamy, p. 69.

Pl.XIII,
XIV,XVIII

With the Mughal influence the scope of subject matter of Rajput painting considerably changed. Along with the traditional themes, the contemporary court scenes of Rajput royalty, hunting scenes, wine-drinking scenes and book illustration of historical and romantic works were also added in the Rajput painting during the 17th & 18th centuries. The literary and historical works, included in the subject matter¹ of painting were Hemmir Hath, Nal-Damvanti, Padmayati, & Laila Majun, Sohni Mahiwal, Amru Satka and Rasikriva etc.

The change of subject matter from mythological, religious and folklore scenes to the court scenes and book illustration of literary works was the impact of Mughal court painting, where such type of themes were prevalent. The result was this that Rajput school of painting developed like the contemporary Mughal ~~xx~~ school of painting, moving closer to the aristocratic art, neglecting the common men from its subject matter.

MATERIAL CULTURE:

The most important influence on Rajput painting was in the form of material contents in the paintings. The influence on the material culture of the Rajput painting was the direct

1. Rajput Painting, Coomaraswamy, p.64.

result of the Mughal Rajput cultural contacts. The Rajput chiefs and their officials adopted the Mughal dresses and fashions being the representatives of Mughal aristocracy. One of the main condition imposed upon the Rajput chiefs by the Mughals after the recognition of Mughal sovereignty was to serve the Imperial court. According to this condition each and every Rajput chief enrolled himself as Mughal mansabdar and served the court during the Mughal court. It was were in the Imperial court that they had to keep themselves according to Mughal traditions and customs of the court. In the daily life the most important thing was the dress. The costumes and ornaments of the period are depicted as follows:

Pl.XI

The crown (Mukuta), generally five pointed, is worn by princes and deities in the Rajput paintings. The Mor-Mukuta is the peacock crested crown worn by Krishna.

The pagari, page, phenta, patta, pataka and safa were the common names of different types of turbans. The different varieties of turbans were characteristics of race, locality and period in the Rajput paintings. Pagri was narrow and very long and was characteristic feature of Rajput paintings of the 17th and 18th centuries. The Rajput pagri, appears to have been adopted at the Mughal court already in the time of Akbar and remains the typical head dress of both Musalmans and Hindus as represented in the paintings. The form of pagri is

unsymmetrical, sloping backwards and bound by a transverse band of different cloth. A jewelled mala-band may be tied round the turban horizontally, and a plume (sarpach) often richly jewelled or enamelled, may be worn in the turban itself. The addition of sarpach was the innovation of the Mughals.

1
Different kinds of jamas were worn by Rajputs under the Mughal impact are evident in the paintings. Takeuchiya was a kind of frock coat with a full round skirt. It was fastened at the ~~side~~ on shoulder and just above the waist on the left side. The skirt was open and ^{rarely} extend below the knee which became gradually longer in the subsequent period and extended upto ankles. The second type of jama was chakdar, whose skirt was pointed and generally it was four pointed prolongations, two on each side, which constituted a fashion prevalent at the Mughal court during the reign of Akbar and Jahangir.

Pl. IX, X,
XXII

Pl. VIII

The third type of jama which was used by Rajputs termed chapkan, a coat, usually of moderate length, tied on the left side at neck and waist. It was close fitted over the chest and its lower portion was in the form of an open skirt.

The waba i.e. an overgarment or cloak, used for warmth, was tied in the middle of the waist only.

1. Miniature Painting, L.K.A., pp. 12,13.

Pl.XIV

The pairahan was a kind of overgarment usually worn by the ladies and it covered the whole body from the neck to ankles and was usually of round circumference or sometimes curved one.

Pl.XIV,
XVII

Trousers (paylmas) were also worn by men and women. They were of different types and of different cloths. The typical form found in the paintings is that of loose upto the knee and tight below the knee and above the ~~ank~~ ankles. These were tied in the waist with the help of a cord.

Pl.XIV

The phataka worn round the waist over the trousers and Jama was another form of Mughal dress. It had its one end hanging upto the knees and usually it was painted with peculiar floral motifs. It was worn by both men and women though men used it generally.

The dress of women was less influenced under the Mughal impact and it was mainly comprised of choli or angiya (the lied fitting shaped bodies, covering the breasts and having very short sleeves and fastened by strings at the back), sari and lahanga on the lower portion tied in the waist and sometimes trousers according to Mughal fashion. The dupatta was a kind of long narrow covering cloth, generally decorated and of transparent muslin, worn over the breast and head. Sometimes one end of long dupatta was tied over the waist covering the lower garment and the other end reached the head covering the breast portion.

The janguli, Pashwai and pairahan were the new types of dress, worn by the ladies under the Mughal court fashions. The janguli was a complete dress combining bodice and skirt, fastened at the neck and waist and open below the waist. The sleeves were long and tight. The circumference of the janguli was large so as to give free movement to the legs. Pashwai also another type of dress, more or less similar to janguli only with the difference of costly cloth. It was printed or painted and usually worn by dancers.

Pl.X

Pairahan was also a sort of gown used by ladies, It was having loose sleeves and loose circumference covering the whole body and was used as an overgarment.

The inclusion of these dresses in the Rajput painting suggest the tremendous influence of the Mughal dress upon the Rajputs.

Beside the dresses of men and women according to Mughal fashions, we also find a large number of different articles used by the Rajputs, directly borrowed from the Mughal culture. The use of Persian designed carpets by the Rajput royalty; the cups and goblets of Persian motifs and designs; the pandan (case of betel leaves); pikdan (spootan); chik (the reed curtain) over the gates; the different musical implements and different types of arms and armaments were some of the objects, which were borrowed from the Mughal court and became a part of Rajput culture.

Pl.IX,XII,
XIII

While dealing with the Rajput painting of Rajasthan, it is necessary to mention that though we find some general characteristic features of the painting but that does not mean that each state possessed only one characteristic style of its own or that the style which prevailed in one state never penetrated in another state. However, each state had developed its own peculiar features with in the general characteristic features of the Rajput school of painting.

PORTRAITURE:

During the 17th century the Mughal court also influenced the Rajput school of painting, to start the art of portraiture. The portraiture art under the Mughals developed during the reign of Jahangir, though it had been originated towards the closing years of Akbar's reign. It was after Jahangir's portraiture art, that the Rajput rulers started to ask their painters to make their portraits. The development of portraiture art in the Rajput painting was the result of Mughal contact. The painters of Rajput courts started to make portraits of their patrons on the pattern of Mughal style of portraitures. The profile faces, standing poses, the placement of the hands over the sword hilts or the holding of flower's (usually rose

Pl.XX,
XXI

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1. The Art & Architecture of Bikaner State, H.Goetz, p.47. The portrait of Rajput rulers having the aura round the face like Mughal paintings of Jahangir and Shahjahan's period, ~~where~~ were depicted during this period.

flower) in the hands were some of the conventionalized styles of Mughal portraiture. The Rajput portraiture art also followed the Mughal conventional patterns. These portraits also provide us minute details of dresses, ornaments and fashions of the period. The portraiture art was so much favoured in the Rajput courts that in the 18th century a large number of portraits were made both of men and women.

MURAL PAINTING:

Under the Mughal impact, the mural paintings were also started by the Rajput rulers to decorate their ~~buildings~~¹ buildings. The traces of Mughal¹ impact are clearly visible in the paintings of Raja Bharmal's chhatri, Raja Man Singh's chhatri, gateway of Bairat, chhatri of Jai Singh I's foster mother at Amber state; the old palace and Rangmahal at Bikaner; the Dilkusha palace and Manak Mahal at Jodhpur and Chhoti Chitrasala Jagniwas at Udaipur.

These buildings contain the mural painting of different themes depicting the animals and human beings in the court scenes or Navika bheda sets. The Mughal type of dress and

1. Rajput Painting, * Coomaraswamy, pp. 5,6,13,14. Rajasthan ke Bhittichitra, M.L.Gupta, Cf. Raj. History Congress 1967, pp. 235,236; 'Rajasthan Mein Chitrakala ka Kramik Vikas', Satya Prakash Cf. Raj Bharti, V.8, No. 1-2, pp. 15,16.

technique is visible in these paintings. The paintings of Jagniyab of Rana Bhim Singh's period depicts two ladies wearing a European dress, suggesting the European influence on Rajput painting obviously ~~thru~~ through the Mughal court. However, we do not find large number of mural paintings in the Rajput buildings. It appears that though this art of mural painting was introduced by the Rajputs but most probably it was not liked to the extent of miniature painting.

Thus through the study of Rajput painting, not only the establishment of Mughal Rajput contacts are proved but also the process of cultural assimilation can be seen in successive stages.

C O N C L U S I O N

When the empire of Harsha fell, in the middle of the 7th century, the northern India broke up into small principalities. It was during this period that some of the Rajput clans emerged as the new ruling class of northern India, where they established their kingdoms and enjoyed political powers till the coming of the Turks towards the close of the 12th century. Though the northern India was conquered by the Turks, but the land which Rajputs occupied in north-West India and came to be known as Rajasthan, remained in their possession, till the middle of the 16th century. The Turkish sultans of Delhi could not conquer this region as a whole though they were successful in capturing and withholding certain pockets in this region.

At the time of Akbar's accession in the year 1556 A.D., the region of Rajasthan was comprised of the states of Mewar, Marwar, Bikaner, Jaisalmer, Amber, Bundi, Sirahi, Banswara and Deoliya. All of these states were ruled by the Rajput rulers of the different clans.

The first two rulers of Mughal dynasty, Babur and Humayun could not formulate and implement any specific policy towards this region due to their pre-occupations in other regions and with other problems. It was Akbar the third ruler of the same dynasty, who evolved a definite policy towards this region to fulfil his plan of empire building.

With the eye of statesman Akbar saw that the uncertainty of Mughal tenure of power was due to one basic fact, that they were not the sons of soil. At that time the political power was divided between Afghans and Rajputs. The Afghans had already proved themselves as the source of trouble to his predecessors both Babur and Humayun. The only alternative left before him was to seek assistance and cooperation of the Rajputs, to gain the support of local element.

To achieve the support, cooperation and loyalty of Rajputs, Akbar adopted a new policy towards the rulers of Rajasthan. According to this policy the rulers were persuaded and if persuasion failed then compelled forcibly to acknowledge his sovereignty, to pay tribute and to serve the Imperial court with their contingents. In return of their acceptance of Mughal sovereignty and joining of Mughal service, they were left independent as far as their internal autonomy of their respective territories were concerned. As a result of this special favour their territories were classified by Akbar as a distinct class of land, termed as watan-iagirs. By adopting this policy Akbar had clearly shown that he did not intend to destroy the Rajputs but he wanted their friendship, cooperation and loyalty for the Imperial throne, which he achieved through his foresightedness.

Further to strengthen his policy, Akbar made matrimonial alliances with the ruling Rajput houses of Rajasthan. The Rajput rulers of Amber, Jodhpur, Bikaner, Doongarpur, Kishangarh and Jaisalmer gave their princess as brides to the Mughal rulers and their sons throughout the period from Akbar to Farrukh Siyar. The policy of matrimonial alliances not only developed the bonds of blood relationship but also the feeling among the Rajputs that they had a stake in the Mughal empire. The matrimonial alliances also gave rise to the establishment of family ties between the Mughals and Rajputs.

However, it was the condition of the Imperial service, which brought the Rajputs in closer contact with the Mughal court. The policy of matrimonial alliances and the Imperial service started by Akbar, was followed more or less in the same spirit of objectiveness by his successors till the reign of Aurangzeb.

The process of cultural contacts between the Rajputs and Mughals, started with the subjugation of Rajasthan by Akbar. By virtue of their subordination, the Rajput rulers also accepted the condition of regular attendance at the Imperial court and to serve the Mughal emperor. They enrolled themselves in the Mughal service and entered into the category of Mansabdars. The mansabdars formed the ruling group in the Mughal empire. The incorporation of Rajputs in the Mughal

service was the result of the planned imperial policy, having implicit faith in them. They were appointed on different posts upto the highest post of the governors of the provinces. The same policy was continued by Akbar's successors in case of appointments and service.

While in service, the Rajput rulers attended the Mughal court with their family members, clansmen and troopers and came under the direct influence of the Mughal court and Mughal way of life. They attended the court observing all the manners, customs and practices of the Imperial court. To familiarise themselves with court etiquettes, they used to learn them before coming to the court.

Beside the court attendance and service of the empire in distant provinces, the Mughal emperors also entrusted them with different types of duties which were close to the person of emperor and of vary natures. Such types of duties gave them ample opportunities to study, to learn and to assimilate the various cultural activities of the Mughal way of life.

Further the material culture of Rajputs was also effected due to the generous nature of Mughal emperors, who rewarded different kinds of articles to these Rajputs often and on, which naturally enriched their material culture.

The process of Mughal-Rajput contact was not limited to the ruling groups but it took into its fold the common ~~mf~~ men also, who were basically the troopers of the Rajput rulers.

Thus the constant and close touch of Rajput rulers along with their troops with the Mughal court and Mughal way of life throughout the Mughal period, ultimately started the process of cultural give and take between the two cultures and each of them considerably effected. The Rajput rulers of Rajasthan assimilated, consciously or unconsciously, what was the best of Mughal culture, in their own way of life.

The imitation of Mughal court customs and practices in their courts was one of the conscious effort made by them. The object of the imitation of Mughal court customs and practices was to enhance their power and position in relation to their fief-holders (thikanedars & jagirdars) on the same pattern, what the Rajput rulers had vis-a-vis to the Mughal emperors. The remodelling of their courts, the classification of nobility, the establishment of court customs and practices of nazar, pashkash, escheat etc. were largely under the influence of the Mughal court. Similarly the introduction of chauki system, to guard the royal palaces by the fief-holders were the result of Mughal courts influence.

The penetration of the Mughal culture was not limited to the courts only but it influenced almost all walks of life.

For the development of medieval social life, the Rajputs owe too much to Mughals. However, the influence on the social life of Rajasthan, appears to be limited to the Rajput aristocratic class i.e. their officials and retainers. But some of the social customs like sati, johar greatly changed in their values and concepts under the Mughal influence. The dresses, ornaments, food, education, amusements were the most effected areas of cultural synthesis, while the religious beliefs and customs, festivals remained more or less unaffected throughout the period.

The system of administration of the Rajput states received a ~~complete~~ complete transformation of the system under the Mughal impact. The Mughal administrative terminology was applied in almost all fields of administration. The division of territories into smaller units, their officials with identical duties and functions like Mughal officials are the glaring examples of the period. In the field of administration the important contribution of the Mughal court was to give uniform pattern of administration to the states of Rajasthan, which could not be possible without the imitation of Mughal system of administration. The systematisation of the different branches of administration was also the result of Mughal court patterns.

The art of the region affected in this process most. It is the art, which is more sensitive to the cultural winds. During

the process of synthesis of Mughal-Rajput cultures, the architecture and painting exhibit the same synthetic tendencies. The Rajput temples, palaces, musoleums were no longer planned and built on the lives of traditional pattern of architecture. They not only adopted the Mughal elements of architecture, but they also breathe a new spirit which demonstrate the influence of culture on each other. The true ~~ma~~ arches of different shapes, the vaulted roofs, the arabesques, etc. did not remain the symbol of Muslim buildings; since they became the part and parcel of Rajput architecture. The synthesis of architectural technique and styles is not limited to the civil and memorial architecture bit it also include the buildings of sacred architecture (temples). The buildings of medieval Rajasthan are the best examples of Mughal Rajput cultural synthesis.

Like architecture, the Rajput painting also reached to its perfection due to the assimilation of technique ~~xx~~ style, subject matter and material culture of Mughal paintings and Mughal court culture. The achievements of Rajput school of painting were largely due to the Impact of Mughal school of painting, as is evident if one study those paintings.

However, it does not mean that Rajasthan lost its own individuality in the above mentioned areas. We find the continuation of distinct cultural heritage in almost all fields of Medieval Rajput culture. The present study shows only a process of cultural synthesis on a considerable scale.

PLATE I

School Rajasthani 1570 A.D.

A Painting from Barabara

Use of dark colours	Indian Dress
Linear Perspective	Indian Architecture
Angular figures of human beings, full profile	
faces, resembling with western school of painting,	
with two dimensional effect.	



PLATE II

Ragmala (Malkosha) Chawand (Mewar) 1605 A.D.

Dark background and use of dark colours,
Linear Perspective, Two dimensional effect,
Background Indian Setting, Architecture
Indian, Angular figures of human beings,
almond shaped big eyes, small chin, pointed
nose. Profile faces, peacock & deer-naturalistic.
Chakdar Jama in Maledress.



PLATE III

Ragini Megh Mallara

Mewar

1628 A.D.

Dark background and use of light colours,
Linear perspective, Night scene, uniform light
effect. Two dimensional effect though beginning
of three dimensional effect is visible.

Background in Indian setting, Sky &
horizon realistic, Birds natural. Human figures
in Angular projections, size of eyes and nose
proportionate.

Dress - Six pointed Jama, trousers



PLATE IV

Ragini Madhu Madhavi

Rajasthani (Mewar)

Mid. 16th century

An Abhisarika Navika seeks her beloved
on a night of storm and rain.

Setting of background in a pavilion,
Indian Architecture, Linear perspective, two
dimensional effect. Use of dark colours,
symbolic representation of rain and night,
uniform light effect, peacock's feather tail
overlapping the undefined border. Faces full
profile, angular body. No trace of Mughal Impact.

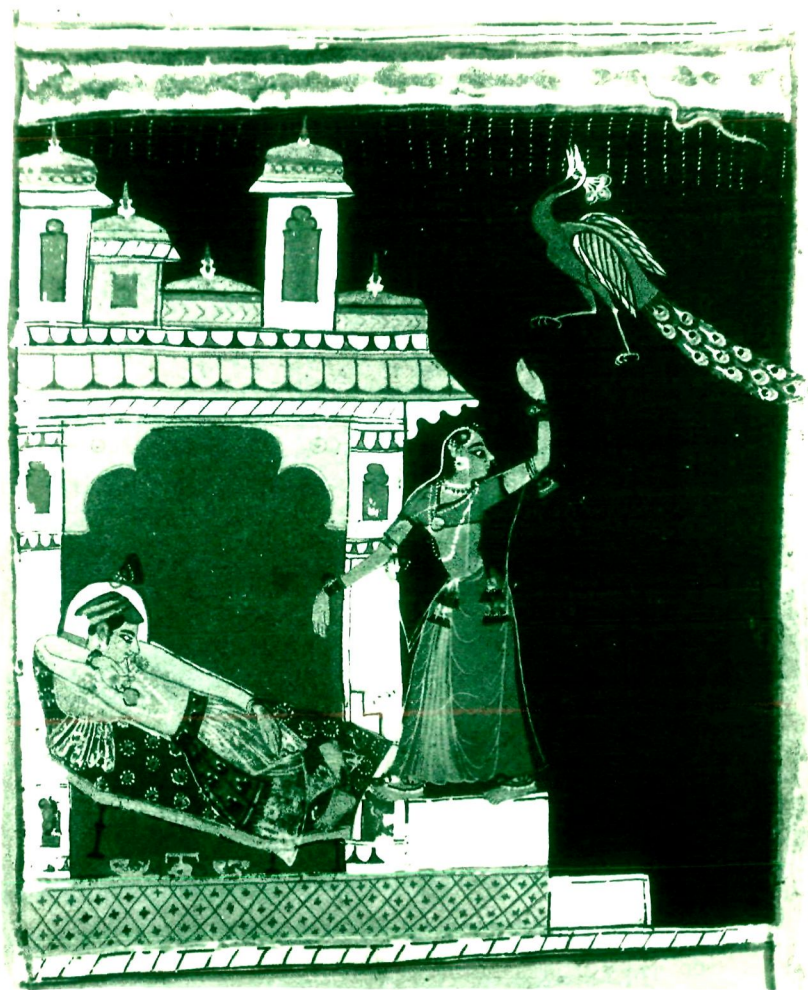


PLATE VI

Ragini Gaur Mallar

Rajasthani

Mid. 16th century.

A woman standing on a hill, dancing and singing with vina, in hand, two peacocks attracted by music.

Setting of background in open land, use of dark colours, trees decorative and unnaturalistic, encircled formation of hill in conventional style, small curved line depicting the clouds in upper margin (conventional), symbolic representation of rain, uniform light effect. Indian dress, angular body, big nose and almond shaped eye, profile face Linear perspective, two dimensional effect. No trace of Mughal Impact.



PLATE VI

MALKOSHA RAGA

Rajasthani

Mid. 16th century

Pavilion setting, a prince and princess
with attendants. Linear perspective, two
dimensional effect. Architecture Indian,
border undefined, women faces typified,
Indian dress.

Mughal impact on architecture-dome,
bent vaulted roof.



PLATE VII

Asavari Ragini

Rajasthani

Early 17th century

A woman sitting over the Carpet, attended
by two lady musicians.

Aerial perspective, three dimensional
effect due to Mughal impact. Faces individualis-
tic, Landscape and trees realistic.

The foreground of water with lotus flowers
unnatural and conventional.

The design of carpet suggest Persian influ-
ence through Mughal court.



PLATE VIII

Navika Bheda - Madhvadhira

Mewar

1640 A.D.

Heroine conversing with hero in a pavilion.

Linear Perspective, two dimensional effect and
Dark colour background, decorative trees, plants
& flowers, birds, suggest, conventional pattern
of Rajput school.

Chakdar Jama, trousers, pagri, phatka

suggest Mughal impact.

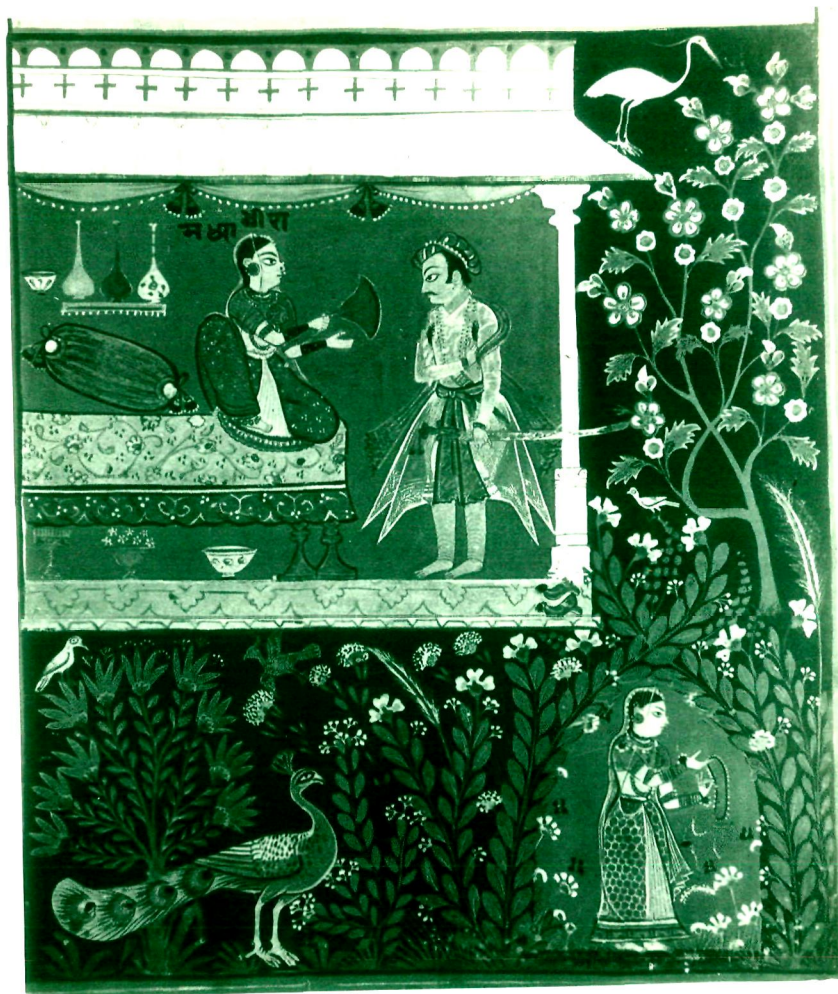


PLATE IX

Dance of Krishna

Mewar

1650 A.D.

Whole Painting divided into three independent panels. Pillared Pavilion with bent vaulted roof. The foreground water setting in conventional pattern, trees, decorative. Dress Indian and Mughal mixed, Takauchia Jama, trousers and phatka due to Mughal impact. Three dimensional effect. Use of dark colours in background.

Skyline narrow & conventional.

A black and white photograph of three women in traditional Indian attire, possibly performing a dance or ritual. They are wearing ornate, patterned saris and jewelry. The woman on the left is in a dynamic pose, the middle one is holding a small object, and the right one is standing upright. They are positioned in front of a dark, draped background.



PLATE X

Bilawal Ragini

Rajasthani 1650-1680 A.D.

Architecture, Indian & Mughal

Dress, Indian & Mughal.

Plants, trees, flowers, birds decorative

Mughal impact on dress, carpets, curtains,
utensils and architecture.

Use of light colours with dark colours
of the background.

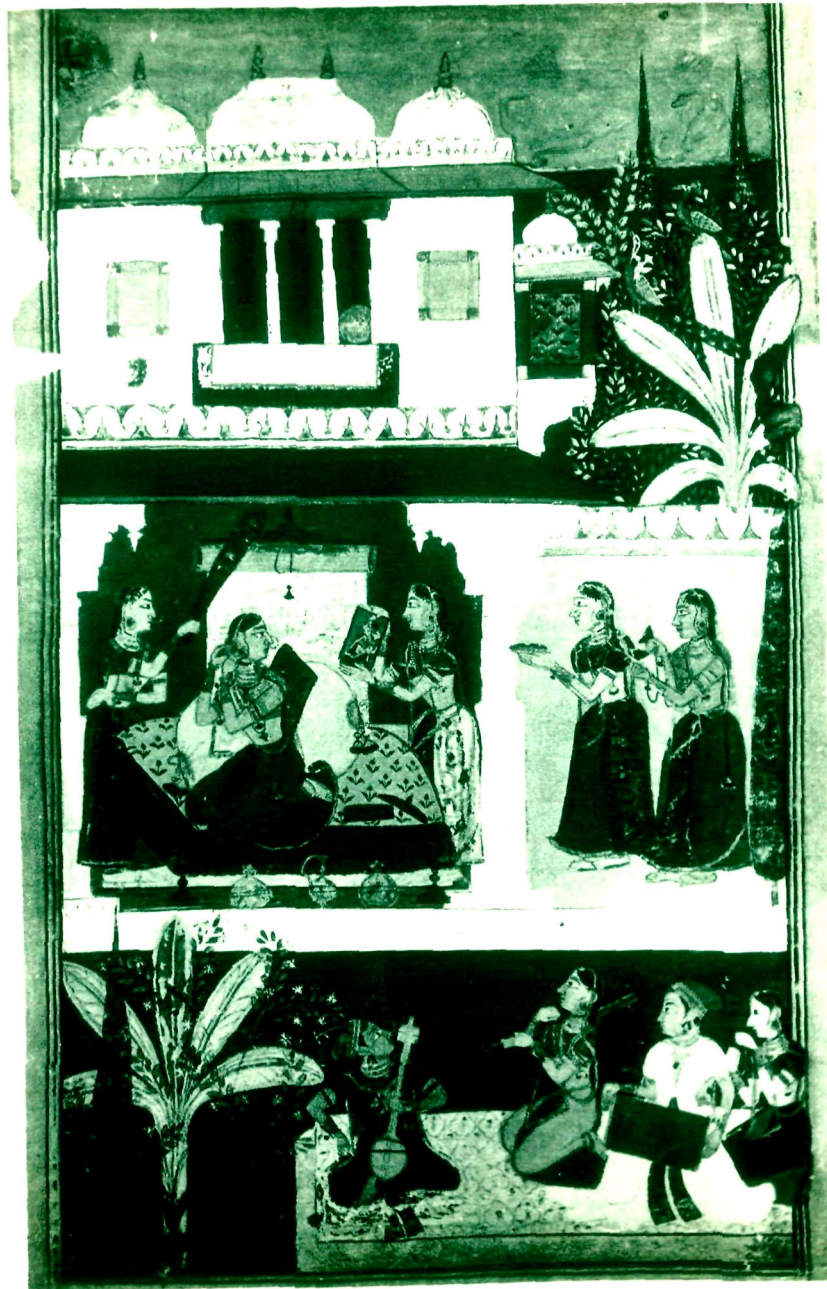


PLATE XI

Ragini Vasant

Mewar

1650 A.D.

Landscape Indian, background of dark colours, trees, plants & flowers decorative, skylive narrow. Mughal impact on dress of male and female. Landscape as a whole unrealistic, uniform light effect.



PLATE XII

Ragini Gumar

Mewar

1660 A.D.

Pleasure garden pavilion scene, showing two ladies. Landscape refined and more realistic and natural, trees naturalistic, material culture influenced by Mughals, carpets, goblets, cups, dresses etc. Use of naturalistic colours Aerial perspective, Three dimensional effect.



PLATE XIII

Bundi

1682 A.D.

This is one of the earliest dated painting of the Bundi school.

The pavilion background is more decorated. The pillars & brackets of the pavilion as well as the bent vaulted dome reminds some of the architectural features of Akbar's period.

The painting is in aerial perspective, three dimensional effect, colour scheme is more sophisticated and light.

The Mughal impact is visible in the composition, dresses, ornaments, carpets, cups & goblet etc.



PLATE XIV

Lady with Attendant in Garden

Bundi

Last quarter of the 17th century

The (fountain pond) foreground and sky according to Mughal pattern and are more naturalistic, while the centre of the painting is of dark background, decorative trees, plants and flowers according to Rajput school.

The painting is in aerial perspective, three dimensional effect.

Mughal impact in the composition and technique, The female dress consisted of half sleeved bodice, striped trousers, phatka & orni. Over the whole body transparent patrahan with frilled lapels due to Mughal impact. Shade in armpits show the use of light and shade.



PLATE XV

Ragini

Rajasthani (Jaipur) 18th century

A woman wearing a skirt of leaves, with bow and arrow sitting on a lotus seat in an Island of lake. The lake is covered with lotus flowers and water fowls.

Aerial perspective, the figure of lady in three dimensional effect. The trees and plants in naturalistic setting, waterline zigzag, a peculiar feature of Rajasthani painting.

The trees, plants, flowers, fowls and figure of lady realistic. Use of light and shade, sky realistic all derived from Mughal paintings.



PLATE XVI

Ragini

Rajasthani (Jaipur) 18th century

A women in a formal garden, holding flower branches in each hand.

Aerial perspective, 3 dimensional effect of the painting, use of light and shade. Depiction of trees and plants both realistic and decorative. The Mughal impact in the general composition of the painting. The small ponds with fountains and fishes, the domed pavilion, use of light colours, 2/3rd face of the women and the dress though Indian but with addition of phataka.

The figure of the lady is more realistic and natural with proportionate face, nose, eyes etc.



PLATE XVII

Meeting of Radha & Krishna

Rajasthani (Bundi) First quarter of 18th c.

Aerial perspective and 3^d dimensional effect. The colours both dark and light. The landscape unnatural with decorative trees, plants, flowers and birds. The foreground of a pond with fountain, birds and lotus flower according to conventional pattern developed during the Mughal period.

The dress of both men and women is mixed, traditional Indian and Mughal dress. Peculiarly the Krishna is wearing a transparent plated jama and a painted trousers (Mughal dress). The faces full profile as well as 2/3rd with individualistic faces.



PLATE XVIII

Palace ladies hunting from a pavilion

Rajasthani (Bundi) about 1760 A.D.

Aerial perspective and 3/4 dimensional effect. The use of light colours in the composition. Use of light and shade, landscape natural and Persian type of hills. The animals and trees more naturalistic.

The women faces both profile and 2/3rd, wearing of head dress by ladies in Mughal fashion. The border of picture well defined.



PLATE XIX

Navika from Basikoriya

Rajasthani (Mewar) Second half of 17th c.

Aerial perspective and 3, dimensional effect.
The dominance of architecture in the composition
of painting with trabeate and arcute style of
construction.

The trees and plants both decorative as well
as realistic, faces of the women profile but not
typified. Animal figure unnaturalistic. The dresses
and ornaments of ladies both Indian and Mughal.

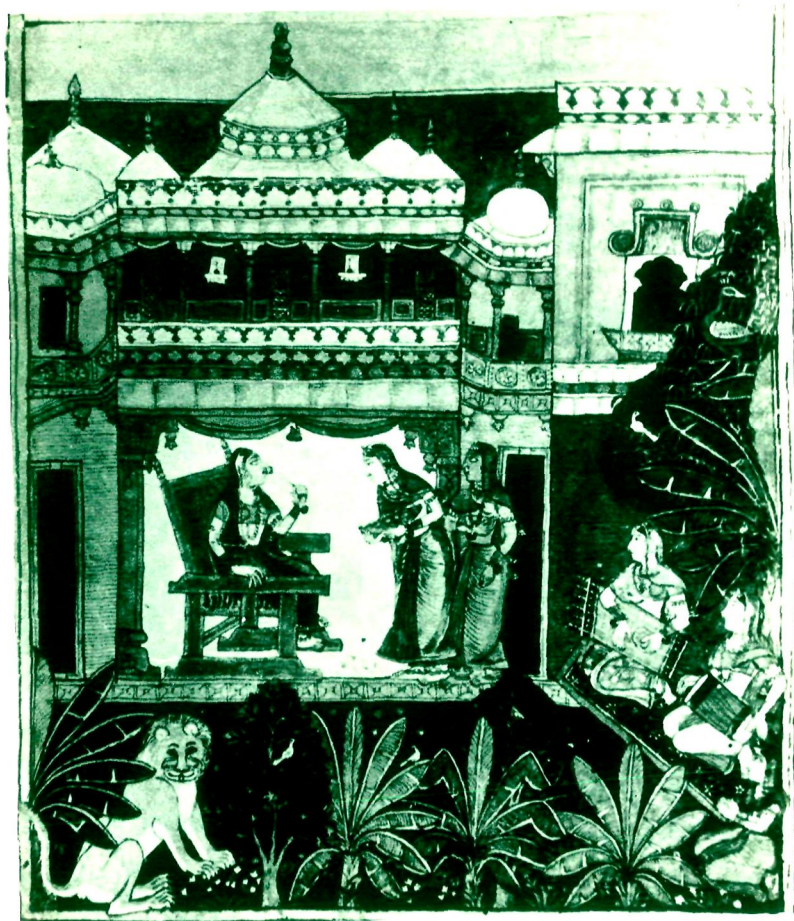


PLATE XX

Portrait of Maharaja Karan Singh of Bikaner

Rajasthani (Bikaner) Second half of the 17th c.

Portrait of upper half of body. The background plain. Face profile, aura, round the face according to Mughal paintings. The face is individualistic. The portrait in a fixed posture of Mughal tradition, resting the hands over the hilt of the sword.

The colours are very light except black, Portrait appears to be made according to Siyah Kalm technique of Mughals. The painter is also a Muslim, named Ruknuddin.



PLATE XXI

Portrait of Maharana Ari Singh

Rajasthani (Mewar)

Second half of 18th century

Full portrait of Maharana in standing side pose. The hands keeping bow and arrow. Face in full profile. The aura surrounding the ^{head} is rayed one like Shahjahani portraits.

The background is plain. Light effect uniform. The jama upto the ankles covering the whole body, phataka decorated, turban of new design, use of sarpach and kalangi due to Mughal impact.



